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JUNE 5, 1987

Brian Crozier: BEHIND GORBACHEV'S OFFER

# NATIONAL REVIEW

## The Streets Were ed With d gers

By Peter Weber

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MR E ROY SMITH
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PLUS:

- William Rusher Reminds Us, Reagan's No Suicide
- Seth Cropsey on Moscow in the Pacific
- Kevin Lynch on Brent Bozell
- Bob Mack on P. J. O'Rourke

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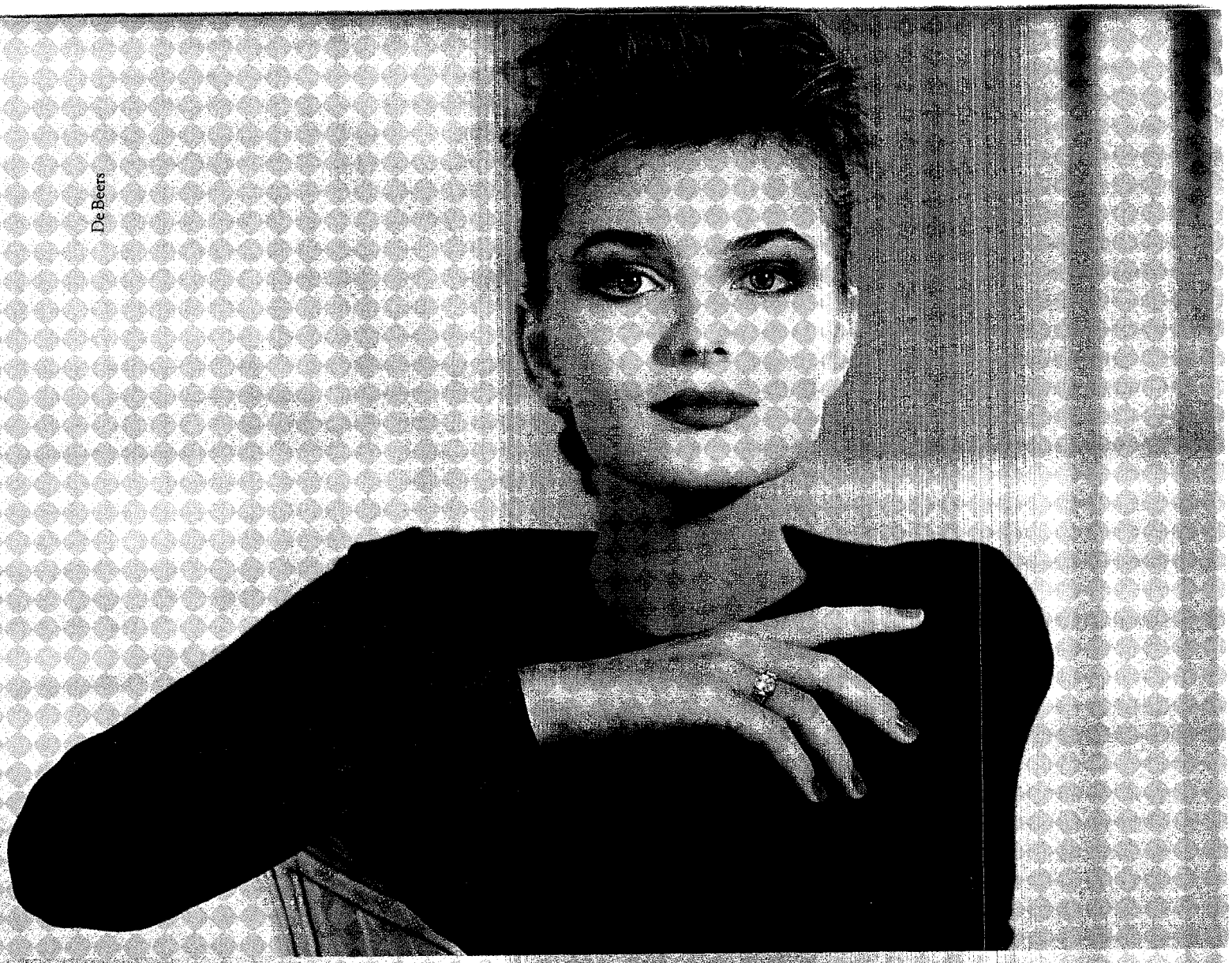
De Beers



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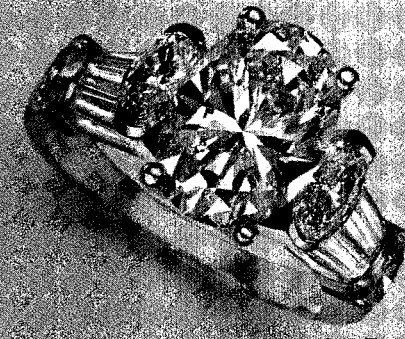

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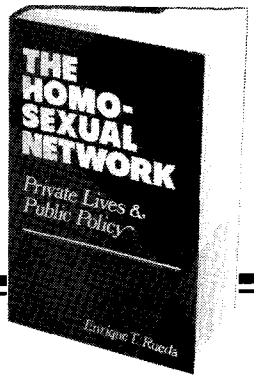


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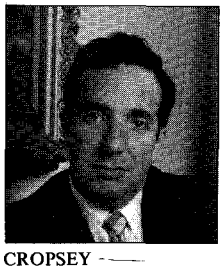
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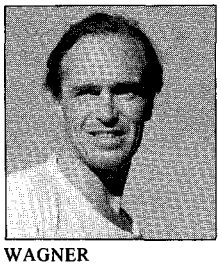
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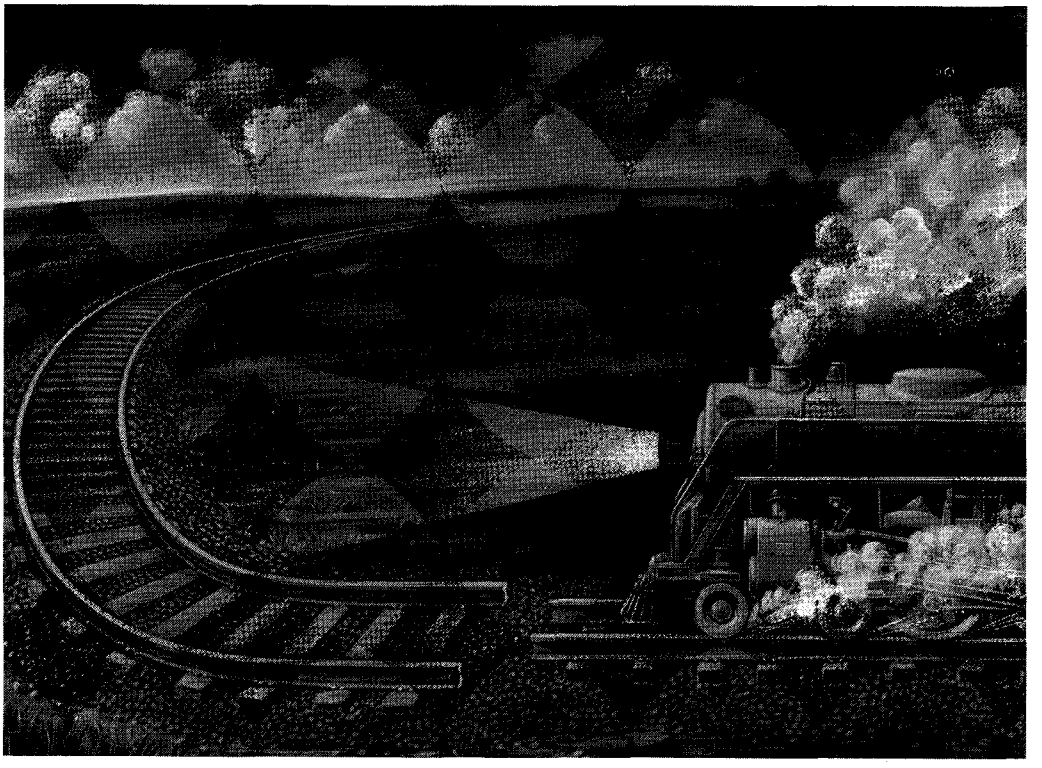
Issues of the Information Age:

# The way beyond Babel.



Imagine trying to build a railroad system if every locomotive manufacturer used a different track gauge. Every local stretch of railroad had its own code of signals. And in order to ride a train, you needed to know the gauges and the signals and the switching procedures and the route and the conductor's odd pronunciation of the station names.

The business of moving and managing information is in a similar state today. Machines can't always talk to each other. Proprietary systems and networks abound, with suppliers often jockeying to make theirs the de facto standard. The enormous potential of the Information Age is being dissipated by incompatibility.

The solution, as we see it, is common standards which would allow electronic systems in one or many locations to work together. People will be informed and in control, while the systems exchange, process, and act on information automatically.

AT&T is working with national, international, and industry-wide organizations to set up comprehensive, international standards to be shared by everyone who uses and provides information technology. We think it's time for everyone in our industry to commit to developing firm, far-reaching standards. The goal: to provide our customers with maximum flexibility and utility. Then, they can decide how and with whom to work.

We foresee a time when the promise of the Information Age will be realized. People will participate in a worldwide Telecommunity through a vast, global network of networks, the merging of communications and computers. They'll be able to handle information in any form—conversation, data, images, text—as easily as they make a phone call today.

The science is here now. The technology is coming along rapidly. But only with compatibility will the barriers to Telecommunity recede.

Telecommunity is our goal. Technology is our means.℠

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# LETTERS

## Sergeant Shultz?

"Reagan's Suicide Pact" [May 22] was an appropriately all-guns-blazing response to America's increasing uncertainty in foreign-policy dealings. But what I enjoyed even more than the big-time bylines (Nixon, Kissinger, and Kemp, not to mention Roche and Galbraith) was MacNelly's "Dispatch from Moscow" cartoon on page 29, where Shultz has scrawled out a last will and testament on Bozo's Magic Slate. This reminded me of a column in the trendy new magazine *Spy* featuring prominent lookalikes (it is entitled "Separated at Birth?"), which paired Shultz and the Cowardly Lion. Come to think of it, about the only thing missing from your exhaustive warnings about the roads leading to and from Reykjavik was a full-scale flailing of Shultz himself. This (hopefully his last) blunder should secure—as Galbraith suggests—the fall of West Germany into Earth Dog (i.e., Green Party) paws.

Worse yet, the proposed Summit, coupled with the American Physical Society's smear job on SDI, has grabbed the consciousness of conservatives to the point where our agreement to sell the Soviets even more grain was barely noticed. The Administration had better get its foreign-policy act together soon, because on the domestic front there are televised congressional inquiries and elections coming up (two things the USSR never has to worry about).

*Fred Smalling*
*Palo Alto, Calif.*

## Finnishing Touches

Replying to Mr. Cunningham's letter ["Finn Line," May 8], I must sadly register the fact that he is a victim of the American education system, which carefully avoids teaching geography on nearly all higher levels.

No, Eastern Karelia is the former Province of Olonets. The Finns desperately tried to conquer it in 1919-20 (and then again in 1941-44). It once had a clear Finnish majority. The Finns even issued stamps for "Itä-Karjala" (Eastern Karelia), known to philatelists. Mr. Cunningham refers all the time to "Western Karelia," which Finland lost twice: in 1940 and then again after World War II.

The Finns weren't all that "cautious." As to their heroic efforts to conquer Eastern Karelia after World War I, cf. the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 13th ed., Vol. 30, p. 31. I am, after all, I hope, a serious scholar and not a leading statesman, a famous professor, or a writer on the best-seller list.

*Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn*
*Lans, Tyrol, Austria*

## Sexcess

Although Jeffrey Hart was correct in his assessment of the "safe sex" brochure as "repellent to the normal sensibility" in his column on college sex kits [" 'Safe Sex' and the Presence of the Absence," May 8], he should not have categorized the brochure as a college phenomenon. The lurid pamphlet was also distributed to the prep-school students at St. Mark's in Southborough, Massachusetts. Although the brochure could technically be considered part of a college-preparatory curriculum, I found the mandatory indoctrination in the arts of "fisting," "rimming," and "water sports" a little excessive.

*Jake Michel*
*St. Mark's School*
*Southborough, Mass.*

## From Rambo to Rimbaud

Though I cannot speak with the authority of experience, Jeffrey Hart's "Safe Sex" column contains an inaccuracy that might be better left uncorrected. Nevertheless, we may as well get our terms straight (no pun intended). To the best of my understanding, "rimming" is not a uniquely homosexual practice, though it is unconventional.

*Frank Inserra*
*Washington, D.C.*

## Temperature Rising

I am not excusing anyone ["The Marine Traitors," "The Week," April 24]. I want Lonetree and Bracy stood against a wall right along with our recent Navy traitors. But your remark about "boneheaded . . . skirt-chasing enlisted men with room-temperature IQs" was a slap in the face of every enlisted man who ever lived. I was not aware that skirt-chasing and low IQs had anything to do with loyalty to one's country. I doubt that your writer is even aware of those two young Marines' actual IQs, but I would venture a guess that the Rosenbergs, Tokyo Rose, and Kim Philby probably had IQs that even he would



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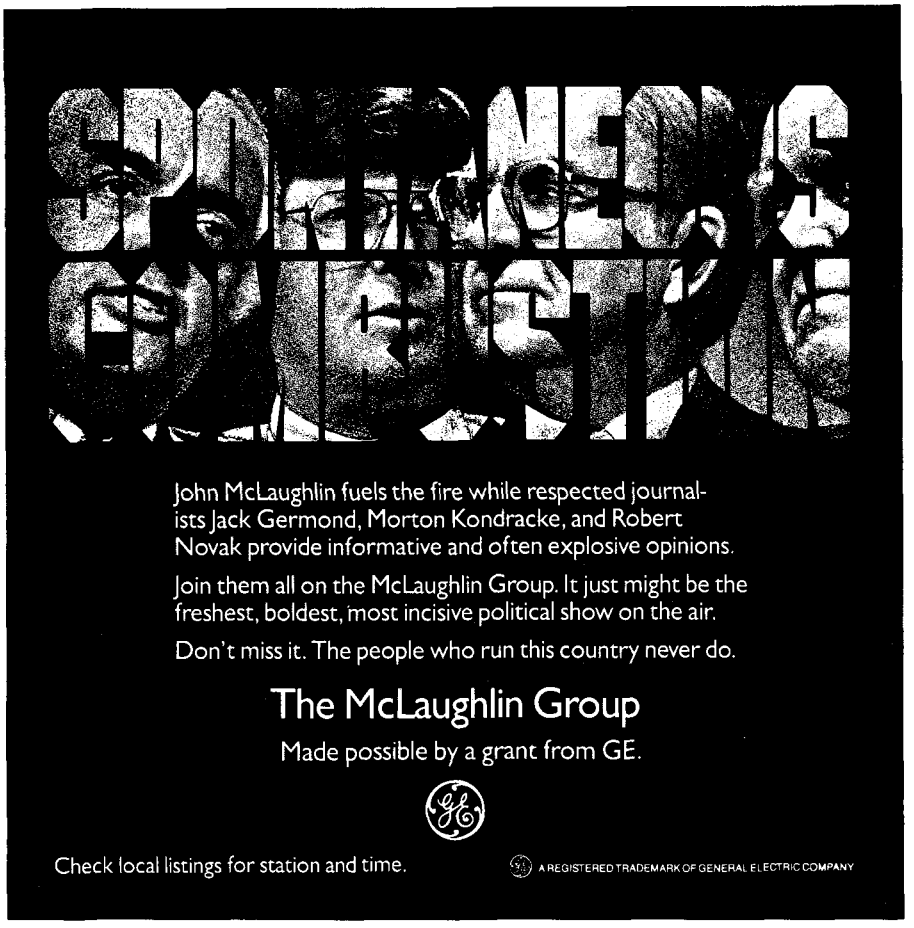


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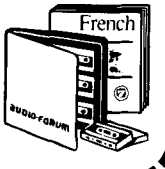


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*Gene R. Gale, USN (Ret.)*
*Strasburg, Colo.*

## Unpresidented

I will ignore the substance and conclusion of John Chamberlain's review of David J. Garrow's *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* [May 8], and content myself with correcting an error of fact.

Washington and Lincoln do *not,* at least on a national level, share a condominium celebration called "Presidents' Day." The United States Code, at Title 5, Section 6103(a), declares that the third Monday in February shall be observed as a legal public holiday known as "Washington's Birthday."

*Stephen Page Smith*
*Arlington, Va.*

## Drowning in the Manestream

I question Richard John Neuhaus's attempt to distinguish between average and normal, and to equate normal with ought ["The Maneless Lions," May 8]. Neither normal nor average means ought.

Neuhaus gives us an average lion (without mane, because of a widespread plague) and a normal lion (with mane, before plague). However, for human sexual practices, there has never been such a watershed. The practice of virtually every sexual perversion can be traced as far back as there are records.

Furthermore, it will not do to call the lion abnormal just because he has been acted on by an outside force (the plague). We are perfectly willing to consider ourselves normal even after being acted on by a large number of important outside forces (school, job, culture, etc.). *A* lion with the plague is abnormal. When *all* lions get the plague, it becomes a normal part of their existence. Neuhaus and Roger Scruton will have to show that a behavior is harmful, not just that it is new or unusual.

*David Carl Argall*
*La Puente, Calif.*

## Tear Jerker

Your staff's courage in finally revealing their true names [May 8, page 6] brought a tear to my eye and a jerk to my knee. I was rather disappointed with Mr. Jeffrey Hart, but then a rose by any other name still smells . . .

*Erik K. Smithpence*
*Chairman*
*Connecticut College Republicans*
*New London, Conn.*



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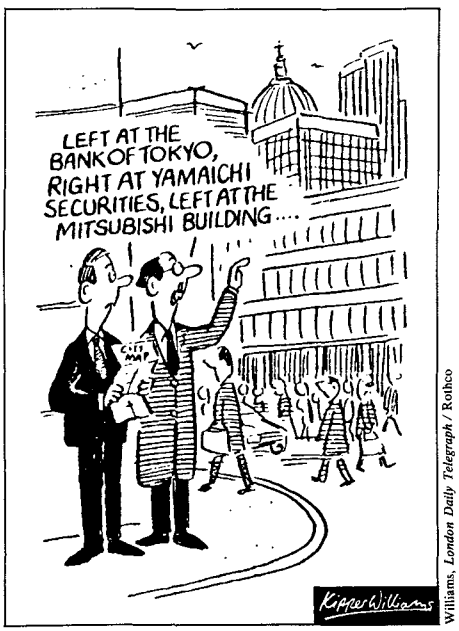
# FOR THE RECORD

What now for the Democrats? **Roper** Center executive director **Everett Carll Ladd** says he knows of no precedent for this type of campaign. "It was wide open even before **Hart** quit." . . . The figures make **Jesse Jackson** the front-runner, which causes *Washington Post* black columnist **William Raspberry** to ask why the "pundits," including those at the *Post* and the *New York Times*, are trying so hard to build up **Michael Dukakis** and others. "Maybe the pundits themselves have trouble accepting the idea that a black candidate could—even temporarily and by accident—be a front-runner." . . . **Mario Cuomo**, talking seriously about a Jackson candidacy, says before he could support Jackson he would have to get some straight answers about Jackson's relations with **Farrakhan**, his connections with the PLO, and "what he says about taking money from **Qaddafi**." . . . *Roll Call*, which publishes monthly odds on presidential hopefuls, continues to call Jackson a 100 to 1 shot. . . . Stirrings: With Hart out, could **Fritz Hollings** be thinking in? His spokesman, **Mike Fernandez**, comments that Super Tuesday "is a great temptation." . . . Which it might be also for another Southerner, Sen. **Sam Nunn** of Georgia. . . . On Republican side: **Jack Kemp** has taken on Administration on nuclear-disarmament negotiations. "I don't want to be the skunk at the garden party," says Kemp, "but someone has to raise the questions about verification that need to be raised." . . . The American people agree. A **Committee on the Present Danger** poll that shows 72 per cent in favor of eliminating medium-range missiles in Europe also shows 74 per cent opposed to any treaty that does not include detailed verification procedures. . . . Interesting: A poll taken just before Hart pulled out showed **George Bush** beating him 48 to 40 per cent. Two months earlier Hart had led Bush 47 to 34 per cent.



Williams, *London Daily Telegraph* / Rothco

Spring is here and the Left has come out swinging. . . . In Moscow, **Graham Greene** absolved **Kim Philby** of the acts of treason that cost many lives, since Philby "was fighting for what he believed in. He wasn't doing it for money." . . . The World Affairs Council of Northern California called off a May Day speech by Salvadoran President **José Napoleón Duarte** because of threats by CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, **Ben Linder**'s outfit) that it would break up the meeting. "It's a real victory for the solidarity movement," said **Paul Desfor** of Coalition for Peace and Life in El Salvador. . . . Baseball czar **Peter Ueberroth** was notified by Jesse Jackson that pickets will surround ballparks July 4 unless major-league clubs come up with a plan to move blacks into managerial jobs by then. . . . And the ladies—NOW, Planned Parenthood, National Abortion Rights Action League, Catholics for a Free Choice, and others—are planning how to put a crimp in Pope **John Paul II**'s September visit to the U.S., according to Communist *People's Daily World*. . . . At April 25 wing-ding in Washington, Bishop **Thomas Gumbleton** of Detroit called for an end to support for the (democratic) governments of El Salvador and Guatemala. . . . **Peter, Paul, & Mary** warbled. . . . Jesse Jackson berated the U.S. for having "guided missiles and misguided leaders." . . . The Mohawk Valley, N.Y., Green Party opposed "U.S. intervention" in Central America. . . . And **Daniel Ellsberg** and **Philip Berrigan** got themselves arrested.

Rep. **James Scheuer** (D., N.Y.), a Contra foe, returned from Nicaraguan jaunt badly shaken. Scheuer says conversations with Cardinal **Miguel Obando y Bravo** "really shook" his beliefs in what is going on in Nicaragua "to the foundations." "I'm really conflicted," he says. . . . A *Christian Science Monitor* reader reports that when he asked **Daniel Ortega** about censorship, Ortega's reply was that free speech is "thought that is correct, thought that is with the revolution." . . . All but two of the questions addressed to Nicaraguan UN Amb. **Nora Astorga** by American newspaper editors at their annual conference were about suppression of *La Prensa*. Her reply: *La Prensa* was closed because its editors were traitors and supported U.S. efforts to overthrow Sandinista regime. . . . In West Germany, the Greens are stirring up anti-census sentiment on grounds that 1939 German census provided basis for the registration and later murder of German Jews. An enterprising Frankfurt publisher has sold 200,000 copies of a book describing how to mislead census-takers without breaking the law. . . . Giving credit where it's due: National Conservative Foundation's *Newswatch* reports *Newsweek* mentioned boat people in every story it carried on tenth anniversary of fall of Saigon. *Washington Post* mentioned boat people in one story out of 11 (a **George Will** column); *New York Times*, 2 mentions in 14 stories; *Time*, 1 in 4; AP, 4 in 37; UPI, 1 in 37.

Laugh of the Week: When Select Committee counsel **John Nields** told Gen. **Secord** that he could have bought a Mediterranean island with the money he had handled, Secord replied: "Yes, Mr. Nields, but I didn't go to Bimini."



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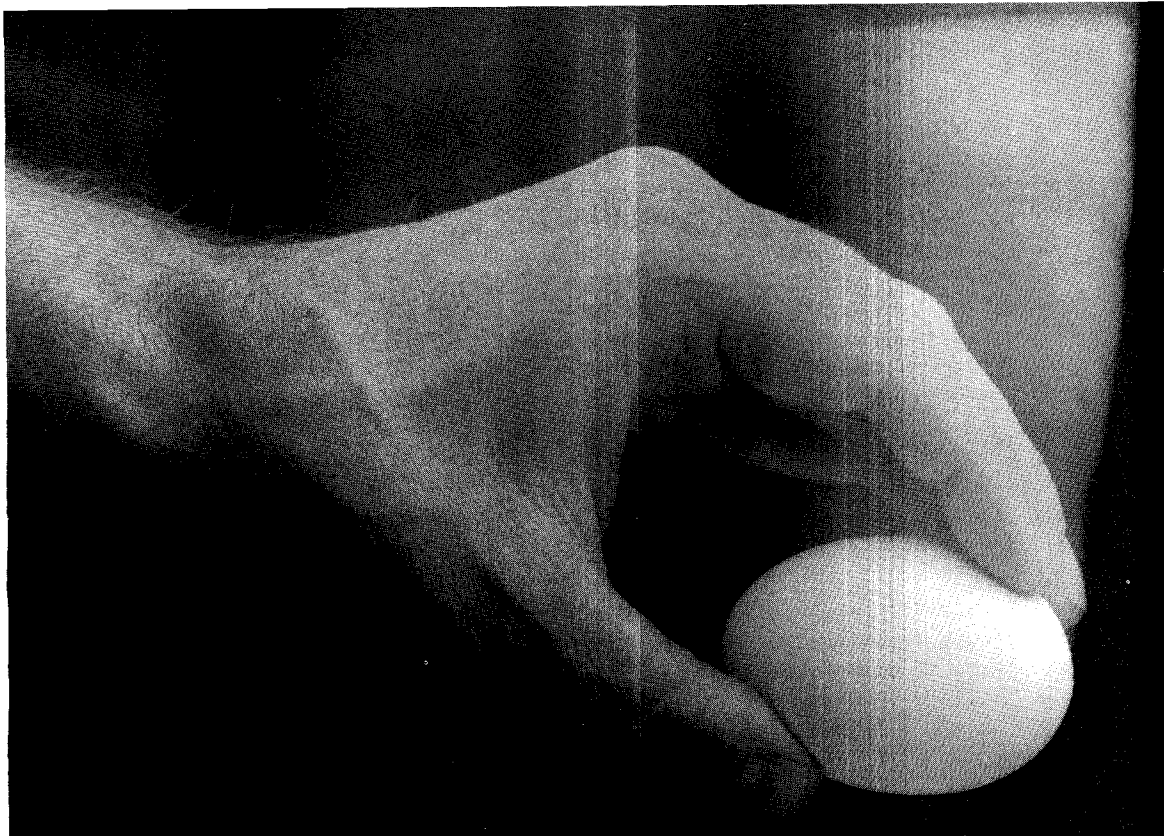

# MAKING OMELETS WITHOUT BREAKING EGGS

It's impossible. But many things once thought impossible have become routine through technological advance. For example, a great amount of progress is being made in new technologies to burn coal cleanly.

Since 1973, air pollution resulting from coal combustion has fallen considerably, even as America has turned increasingly to coal for electric power and other important energy needs. However, existing clean coal technologies—stack gas scrubbing and coal washing—are limited in their ability to meet future clean air requirements, because of cost and applicability. *Emerging new coal-use techniques will expand the number of options available to coal users—current and future.*

Clean coal technology is hundreds of advances in science and engineering along with the creativity to put them together into workable, affordable systems. Clean coal technology will allow America to use more coal in the future. Cleanly and economically.

Today, there are advanced coal utilization schemes of several kinds. Some will allow older coal-fired boilers to be rebuilt as cleaner, more efficient units. Other advances apply to coal-fired units that will be built in the future. Clean coal technology is more than a concept. Most of these new technologies already have been proved in laboratories and in pilot plants. *Now they are proving themselves in full-scale demonstration programs, the last step toward full commercialization.*

Commercial demonstration projects are moving at an exciting pace. American industry is investing large sums of money. In many cases, state and federal funds supplement this effort. Not all clean coal projects will succeed. But many will. And these will form the basis for our next generation of coal-fired power plants and industrial boilers, both new units and rebuilt older ones.

This investment of money and time is a sound one. The payoff in future environmental quality and economic vitality is great. Consolidation Coal is very proud of its involvement in these coal use technologies for the future. To learn more about this subject, write for our free booklet, "A Clean Coal Technology Primer." It won't help you make omelets, but it will tell you about some new ideas that are being hatched.

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# THE WEEK

☐ What with Donna & Gary & Tammy & Jim (coming to your drive-in soon), not to mention AIDS, this has not been a good week for the Sexual Revolution.

☐ Was Benjamin Linder, the young American engineer killed by anti-Communist forces in Nicaragua, a Communist? He was, says the columnist Richard Cohen, "a man whose intent was to make life a bit better for Nicaraguan peasants . . . a dreamer out to bring a little light to a dark corner of the world." Yeah, but was he a Communist? The *New York Times* reports that his friends described him as a "political activist interested in Central American causes." Well, was he a Communist? He was "a founder of a campus group called Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador." And was he a Communist? "He was a self-effacing, gentle person with a twinkle in his eye and a laugh," says his friend Millie Thayer. The nearest thing to a straight answer is provided by the *Washington Post*: Linder and other foreigners in Nicaragua "are among the thousands of *internacionalistas* who have come to Nicaragua to work for the Sandinista cause. Many are Cubans or East Europeans sent by their governments, but a larger number are American and West European volunteers."

☐ And on ABC's *Nightline*, Sam Donaldson asked Jesse Jackson whether he'd welcome the kind of press scrutiny of his private life that Gary Hart got. Jackson thereupon entered a syntactical labyrinth from which he emerged several minutes later enlarging on the evils of apartheid.

☐ Remember the massive tax revision last year? Oops! Guess what the Senate and House tax committees are doing this year? Right, correcting it. Which is to say, working on the Technical Corrections Act of 1987, which runs to some two hundred pages and will be some of the bulkiest legislation of the year. Fancy that, two hundred *pages* of mistakes, and every misplaced comma could cost you a fortune. Stand by for the Technical Corrections Act of 1988.

☐ You can always tell a racist. How? By the color of his skin. An affirmative-action training manual used by a New York State agency posed the question, *"Who Is a Racist?"* and answered, "All White individuals in our society are racists. Even if a White is totally free from all conscious racial prejudices, he remains a racist, for he receives benefits distributed by a White racist society through its institutions. . . . In the United States at present only Whites can be racist . . ." The manual was yanked, and the author, Carolyn Pitts, said she opposed "any form of racism," which, given the way she defines it, is probably true.

☐ Some people on Capitol Hill are worried about aid to the Contras; others, notably at the *Washington Times*, are worried about aid to the Sandinistas. What they want to know is how come Congresswoman Pat Schroeder's name appeared on the stationery of the Nicaragua Network, a pro-Sandinista group that ships American volunteers to Nicaragua and raises funds for the Sandinista government. Pressed, Mrs. Schroeder says she doesn't know how her name got on the advisory board, and, anyway, she has since had it removed. But she refuses to be interviewed by the *Times*. Her credentials in these matters are not particularly good: Mrs. Schroeder was one of the ten Democratic congressmen who wrote the famous "Dear Comandante" letter to Daniel Ortega three years ago, begging him to make it easier for them to support him against Reagan. Ortega replied, not long after, by suspending civil rights and traveling to Moscow to ogle gratefully at Soviet military hardware.

☐ Get this. In April, Harvard student leftists prevented a South African official from speaking on campus. Their action was defended by law prof Randall Kennedy—who also happens to be on the board of directors of the Massachusetts branch of the ACLU. "There comes a point where a speech is so far apart" from the community's values, Kennedy said, that "it shouldn't be tolerated." South African officials "represent an advocacy that is beyond the pale," he said. Someone asked him whether he'd approve of beating or killing the speaker. "It's a close call, something I'd have to think deeply about," leaving only the question whether Professor Kennedy can think deeply.

☐ For the first time since 1979, the Soviet invaders in Afghanistan have done something sweetly, exquisitely



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## LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

THE SEISMIC SHOCK of Gary Hart's front-runner abdication has created a political *tsunami* for every other Democratic candidate, as well as official "non-candidates" like Sam Nunn, Bill Bradley, and Mario Cuomo. Political gurus here are diligently trying to estimate which of the "seven dwarfs" (Babbitt, Biden, Dukakis, Gephardt, Gore, Jackson, Simon) will get the biggest piece of Hart's assets.

Jesse Jackson, the only candidate besides Hart who is recognized nationwide, has already leapt to the front of the surveys, garnering the lion's share in the Iowa poll that asked, two days before Hart's exit, which candidate would be preferred if Hart were out. However, Bruce Babbitt has begun airing TV commercials in Iowa, which should improve the former Arizona governor's name recognition there. Richard Gephardt, who now ranks second to Jackson in Iowa (17 per cent), almost certainly will see his poll ratings climb because of his trade and agriculture legislation. Joe Biden may also move up, thanks to his adept fundraising, although there's a growing awareness that his forceful rhetoric has its Johnny-one-note downside.

The Hart earthquake has also shaken up the Democratic Party itself, mostly positively. "Hart is compulsively promiscuous," says a veteran Washington insider, "and most pols know it." That time bomb was ticking away, and if it had exploded after the convention with Hart as nominee, the Democratic campaign for President would have been thrown into convulsions.

Still, Hart's demise has created a couple of new problems for the party, chief of which is that Jesse, as stated, is now front-runner, polling an impressive 24 per cent in Iowa. How is the party to cope with the man it wants neither to alienate nor to nominate? The party's most likely response will be genteelly to ignore him—already Gephardt is spoken of as the Iowa front-runner, though he trails Jackson by 7 per cent.

The front-runner's withdrawal also creates another problem for the party and for each of the remaining candidates. None of the seven dwarfs can absorb maximum voltage from the media plus lateral swipes from the other dwarfs. Unlike Hart, these fledgling candidates have embryonic, untested platforms. On balance, however, the negatives of a Hartless race are mild compared to what the party might have endured had the complex Coloradan self-destructed late.

Democratic presidential aspirant Richard Gephardt, the Missouri representative, has put on Congress's front burner a measure that would impose a variety of sanctions on countries that fail to cut their trade surpluses with the United States by a punishing 10 per cent yearly. The amendment was narrowly approved by the House in late April, 218 to 214, and now awaits Senate action, which will probably consist of simple excision. It's in the Senate-House conference that the rubber hits the road.

The controversy has brought Gephardt a hefty dose of publicity, but pols here wonder whether the amply fledged protectionist may be flirting with trouble. "Sure, protectionism is hot right now," warns a former White House aide. "But Gephardt may easily come off looking like a fad chaser, or worse, like a special-interests panderer."

These drawbacks may be minor compared to what Gephardt will endure if his amendment actually passes both chambers and survives a Reagan veto. "The negatives of trade sanctions are abstract to America now," notes a Republican analyst. "But if that bill becomes law, there'll be a run on the market, inflation will go up, and Gephardt will be pinned to the hot seat."

Ironically, the best-case scenario for Gephardt (and, incredibly, the one his own advisors are hoping for) would be for the amendment to be killed and the following scenario to unfold: Reagan gets his way, his veto of Gephardt is sustained by the Senate, the amendment dies. Then the Japanese expand their dominance over the world market, the trade deficit grows, the election nears, and Gephardt's defeated protectionist amendment—that solitary legislative action that could have saved the country from ruin—emerges as the grand idea that was shot down.

Gephardt himself is almost self-parodyingly straightforward about the bill's merits. At a recent Democratic function, the representative was heard telling a fellow legislator, "Of course, the amendment will get watered down, a little taken out here, a little modified there. By the time it's all over, we may actually have a responsible [*sic*] piece of legislation." While these remarks reinforce Gephardt's Hill reputation as a realistic strategist, the hoopla surrounding the amendment's move to the floor may already have tattooed him as a protectionist, an ultimate no-win stigma. On the other hand, if the Japanese are accommodating, as seems likely, Gephardt will have full warrant for dancing away from his protectionist fling. Still, he's playing ultra-high-risk politics. —CATO

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right: They bombed one of their own positions, killing an admitted one hundred of their Afghan lackeys and knocking out 14 vehicles. Well, maybe it wasn't the first time, but can you believe what they called it? "A mistake."

□ White South Africans went to the polls a fortnight ago, and didn't, in numerical terms, change very much. The National Party kept its huge majority; the liberal Progressive Federal Party lost some ground, the right-wing Conservative Party gained some. The marginal shift was decisive, however, since, under the rules of the South African parliament, the official opposition in the white chamber becomes the Conservatives—i.e., the supporters of undiluted apartheid. Battle lines have hardened, Afrikanerdom will be unbudgeable, etc., etc. That is one way to look at it—the way most Western newspapers did. Another way to look at it is that, since 1978, when P. W. Botha came to power, the supporters of apartheid have shrunk, from 134 seats in parliament, to 22. The cause of this drastic shift was, of course, the change in the position of the National Party, which, under Botha, has abolished the sex laws, abolished influx control, reformed



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the pass laws, given Indians and coloreds their own houses of parliament, acknowledged that township blacks are there to stay. The sweep of change is precisely what provoked the die-hard reaction in the first place. The National Party, and the majority of Afrikaners who support it, have carried themselves a long way. It is at least reasonable to hope that they will carry themselves further.

☐ Fresh thought on the Shroud of Turin. "There are at least four points about the Shroud that point to the resurrection. And they are strong enough evidence that we had better hope it is Jesus' shroud. Otherwise, it looks like somebody else rose from the dead." —Gary Habermas, in *New Covenant* magazine.

☐ The Soviet Union and its Afghan puppets brought 55 foreign journalists—some of them all the way from Moscow—to Khost in eastern Afghanistan a fortnight ago to demonstrate an atrocity: the wreckage of a transport plane, carrying 36 civilians, that was shot down in February by Afghan freedom-fighters with a U.S.-supplied surface-to-air missile. To be sure, the AN-26 is a Soviet military transport plane and wears camouflage paint; but, said the Soviets, on the day in question it was carrying civilians. The plaintiffs are the kindly folk who have driven four million Afghans into exile, and killed many thousands more, all of whom were also, until the Russians marched in eight years ago, peaceful civilians.

☐ The Western Mediterranean got a bite-sized bit of good news last week in Malta when the Nationalist Party of Eddie Fenech Adami won a paper-thin victory over Labor and Prime Minister Paul Mifsud. Mifsud and his predecessor, Dom Mintoff, have been playing footsie for years with Colonel Qaddafi, and there was some fear that with a renewed five-year mandate for Mifsud, Malta might progress from technically non-aligned to openly pro-Soviet and offer the Warsaw Pact a valuable naval base south of Sicily. It's not that Malta will permit NATO to reopen its naval and air bases on the island—that is forbidden by the new constitution, which specifies Maltese neutrality. But Qaddafi's influence on the strategic island has been diminished: Prime Minister-to-be Adami promised to renegotiate Malta's current treaty of friendship with Libya if he was elected.

☐ Do you want to hurt Corazon Aquino? Without signing up for one of Imelda's coups? The Church Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines campaigns against American military aid to the embattled Aquino government, and touts leaders of Philippine Communist-front groups when they tour the States. The United Methodist Church and the National Council of Churches funnel tax-deductible donations to the Coalition, whose steering committee includes members of the Maryknoll and Columban Fathers, the United Church of Christ, the Mennonite Central Committee, and the Presbyterian Church. Pass the plate.

☐ A young lady of advanced sensibilities is causing consternation at a Victorville, California, high school by refusing to dissect a frog. Instead of the traditional and straightforward squeamishness—"Ooh, it's yucky" —she argues the frog's right not to be slaughtered to teach her about its innards. And she wants a computer simulation instead. A sticky situation indeed. If frogs have legal rights, as the activists claim, dissection will have to be limited to the only creature left that has none: the human fetus.

☐ Apparently the horses want more oats. The Postal Service is raising rates again.

☐ Gary Hart's adventures brought to mind the closing lines of Flanders and Swann's tribute to the Profumo affair:

*Though such models of friendship are precious and rare,*
*The friendship of models—is not.*

☐ ERRATUM: In John Roche's "From Reykjavik All Roads Led Down" [*NR*, May 22], the "Anglo-Russian entente . . . carving up Persia" was brought far forward by a typographical error. The entente was signed in 1907—not, as we printed, 1977.

☐ Come back, Gary. *Please.*

## Rejecting the Suicide Pact

BY THE TIME these words are read, the President may have concluded an agreement with the Soviet Union. Although such an agreement, presumably in the form of a treaty, would still have a distance to go before ratification by the Senate, it would have gathered important momentum. Critical momentum? Too early absolutely to say.

Seymour Weiss, formerly with the State Department and an eloquent critic of the INF (intermediate-range nuclear forces) proposal, believes that there are only two ways to stop it. The first is concerted opposition by our allies (more on that in a minute); the second, forthright opposition by the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (preferably), or a member of the Joint Chiefs. However, training in the military stresses military, not political, courage.

But now there is the beginning of a groundswell. Since the release of the last issue of NATIONAL REVIEW, in which one heard from Messrs. Nixon, Kissinger, Kemp, John Roche, Evan Galbraith, William Hyland, and Les Aspin, all of them with heavy reservations



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*"Just a matter of judgment!"*

about the proposed treaty, sympathetic vibrations have come in, most notably from Jeane Kirkpatrick. The point to stress isn't, Will Europe be denuclearized under the Reagan plan? (no, it would not be); but rather, What kind of nuclear weapons would Europe be left with? (the smallest nuclear weapons). Inasmuch as the use of such weapons to contain a conventional thrust by the Soviet army would mean nuclear explosions reaching only to the eastern borders of Germany, it is not hard to imagine the resulting political situation in West Germany. If the cost of deterring a Soviet offensive would only be dead Germans, West Germany would probably opt for Finlandization. In which event, NATO would be dead.

When the leader of the Alliance chases rainbows, the junior partners must lap along for a decent interval. But one junior partner so far has balked. Helmut Kohl and West Germany's Christian Democrats indicated that they did not want short-range missiles —three hundred to six hundred miles—withdrawn as an appendix to a deal on medium-range missiles.

But Kohl's allies in the governing coalition, the détente-minded Free Democrats, like the withdrawal idea just fine. And the left-wing Social Democrats made life awkward for Kohl by pointing out that George Shultz likes it too.

Kohl said he would come to a final decision only after consulting with his allies. One ally who has not publicly been heard from, on account of an impending election, is Margaret Thatcher. The Tories, encouraged by local election results, have set the parliamentary election for June 11. One hopes the prime minister plans to speak out as soon as it is politically safe. She will have to speak out before, from Western Europe's point of view, it is too late.

Helmut Kohl and Margaret Thatcher resist a treaty because they would have to live on the firing line of a Europe without nuclear weapons sufficient to deter the Soviet Union. They will have to face the forces of the Warsaw Pact, looming beyond the Fulda Gap and the North German plain. They will have to face, in their own polities, the peaceniks and the appeasers —Greens, Social Democrats, Labourites—and the just plain wimps—Free Democrats, members of the Social Democratic/Liberal Alliance—who will be encouraged by such an American loss of nerve.

There is something unsporting, of course, about putting the rhetorical burden for the defense of the free world on the shoulders of nations of the second rank—to make Kohl and Mrs. Thatcher responsible for talking Ronald Reagan out of what Shultz and Gorbachev want to talk him into. But that is what the Administration, in its headlong pursuit of a treaty, has done. Let us hope they hang tough where we have wobbled. We will all be living with the consequences long after Senator Hartpence has gone down the memory hole.

## On Deck

LOOK FAST, or you'll miss it. The Reverend Jesse Jackson is the lead-off batter in the Democratic presidential lineup. Herewith a rundown of all the other players now scrambling to pinch-hit.

Joseph Biden is liberalism, without repentance. Three years ago, someone said of Walter Mondale, oddly, that his liberalism was "hotter than high-school love." The description fits Biden tonally as well as ideologically. Chairing the Senate confirmation hearings on William Rehnquist, Biden came across as scolding and shrill. But when he is on, he is the best white speaker in the Democratic Party. Watch for him.

Michael Dukakis will be running as liberalism with competence. His strong point is the economic recovery of Massachusetts, which has been so lusty that some businesses have to bus workers in from out of state.



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All my doing, Dukakis will be telling us. In fact, it has been the doing of Ronald Reagan (Kemp-Roth), the Pentagon (defense contracts), Proposition 2½ (statewide tax cuts), and Dukakis's predecessor and enemy, former governor Edward King. But don't count on Democrats to know that, or on the media to tell them. New Hampshire is presumptive Dukakis country—he opposes the Seabrook nuclear plant, a popular Democratic issue there—though this could also be a no-win situation for him: If he wins it, so what? If he loses, he's dead.

Richard Gephardt first made a name for himself as co-sponsor, with Bill Bradley, of the Democratic tax-cut proposal, so conservatives may be inclined to think well of him. Think again. Gephardt's latest bright idea is protection. If Gephardt makes it to the White House, call Hawley and Smoot. Gephardt has been piling all of his chips on Iowa.

The remaining announced Democrats are regional. Albert Gore aims to stake out the South, Bruce Babbitt the West, Paul Simon Liberaland. (Every race needs one 210-proof purist. Last time around, it was Alan Cranston.) More interesting than these three are a trio who have so far held back: Sam Nunn, Bill Bradley, and Mario Cuomo. They would be candidates, respectively, of the moderate Right, the moderate Right, and the Francis-of-Assisi-Franklin-Roosevelt-Old-Faithful wing of the party. All three have denied interest, but not in terms that would impress the destroyer of Atlanta. Post Hart, the pressures upon them should become enormous.

Hart's lightning-bolt fall—from the top to nowhere, in six days—will be associated ever afterward with Miss Rice. This is an error. The womanizing question took hold, not because of one incident, but because reporters have believed for years that it was part of a larger pattern of Hart's behavior. It destroyed him, more importantly, because he had so little to fall back on. "His slogans touted new ideas. But . . . after weeks of exposure, there turned out to be more slogans than ideas." That was NATIONAL REVIEW's judgment of him—in June 1984.

We were not the only ones to notice the fundamental emptiness and thinness of Hart *as a politician*. Democratic primary voters noticed it last time around. Hart had an idea about ideas—that there should be new ones—but he had precious few himself. After his New Hampshire surprise wore off, Walter Mondale was able to roll him up in fairly short order. Hart didn't get any newer in the three years since then.

The contrast with Teddy Kennedy, the other major misbehaver of recent presidential politics, is instructive. Kennedy's presumed antics resulted in a woman's death. Nevertheless, he came close, 11 years later, to taking his party's nomination from a sitting President. He was always able—he would still be able—to count on a bedrock percentage of Democratic political support. It belonged to him because of ideological steadfastness.

Gary Hart identified a new constituency—youngish liberals, unimpressed with the old justifications of welfarism and intervention. He spoke to their yearnings, but he was never able to craft a position that identified or defined their needs. This will come, if it comes, from journals like *The New Republic*. To their efforts, Gary Hart will go down as a footnote.

## The Big Hearings

BUD MCFARLANE was supposed to cook the President. Senator Inouye said as much before McFarlane testified. It has not happened. McFarlane has so far come across as a dignified, intelligent, and frank patriot. In his lengthy exchanges with Senator Paul Sarbanes, for example, McFarlane did not come off second best, though operating in a complex policy area. Any disinterested viewer of the drama would feel that we have reason to be proud that the Administration has included men of that character.

But the entire game has been played in the wrong ballpark. The *Washington Post*, scooped by the *Miami Herald* on the Gary Hart Tailgate affair, satisfied itself in advance with the headline: "McFarlane Tells of Reagan Role in Contra, Hostage Efforts." The *New York Times* blazed away with "M'Farlane Links a Reagan Meeting to Contra Money." *Und so weiter*. Now, everyone who has come within breathing distance of a Beltway cocktail party knows that the Reagan Administration was determined to keep the anti-Communist Nicaraguan guerrilla army in the field, in spite of the Boland Amendment prohibition on even "indirect" military aid. One hopes Administration lawyers have noticed that the Boland Amendment stipulates no criminal penalties for violating it. In other words, it is not much different from a congressional resolution. And it was effectively repealed when Congress voted to appropriate $100 million, resuming military aid.

One knows intuitively that the President approved of the flow of funds. And that he was right to do so, even as FDR was right to authorize the sinking of enemy ships in the Atlantic in mid 1941. There was

### The Nuremberg Defense

The *New York Times*, whose studied leaks
Have shaken titans on their peaks,
And whose reports from purloined files
Have activated dormant piles,
Left presidential aides unmanned
As Bud McFarlane took the stand.

W. H. VON DREELE



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## Picking Up the Pieces

With Jesse Jackson looking good
As Gephardt tries to score,
While Biden elbows Babbitt and
Dukakis stiff-arms Gore,
The outlook for beleaguered Bush,
Kemp, Laxalt, and Bob Dole
Is brighter for the nonce, though each
Could use a better 'ole.

W. H. VON DREELE

no congressional authorization for that, but FDR stretched his authority, knowing that if England fell Hitler would be in Argentina, and probably Mexico.

The great failure of the Reagan Administration as regards Nicaragua is that the President has failed to persuade the American public that a Soviet base in Central America would matter. Of course Central American politicians will make their calculations based upon that datum. They do not actively desire to become anti-Communist corpses. Noting our lack of resolve, they will make their deals with the superior local forces. Even more important, the serious members of the Soviet Politburo, gratified by the divisions in our ranks, will conclude that we have finally abandoned the doctrine of containment.

In the larger political sense, therefore, it does not much matter what the Secords and the McFarlanes testify to. The President has tried to preside over a Rube Goldberg contraption designed to "do something" about the Soviet satellite in Nicaragua.

But just about everyone knows what has to be done. Gorbachev would have more confidence in us if we just went ahead and did it.

# New Morality, New Journalism

GARY HART'S crybaby exit heaped blame on the press, none on himself. He got the ratio wrong, but his story does show the power of the press to make things happen: The weary image of the press as "messenger" doesn't account for journalistic espionage that results in explosive scandal.

But who gets this kind of treatment? *All* politicians? Albert Hunt, Washington bureau chief of the *Wall Street Journal*, thinks not. Apart from those who, like Hart, all but beg for investigative character snooping, Hunt would restrict the full treatment to those guilty of "hypocrisy." For instance: "If an anti-abortion candidate had an abortion, that's news. Or if a political candidate, like some of the recent television ministers, is preaching one way from the pulpit and another from the bedroom, that's fair game."

Note that the Hunt rule would, as it happens, be particularly damaging to conservatives. Only those who publicly uphold moral standards can be accused of hypocrisy; even a brief lapse might do them in. But a habitual lecher or sodomite would, by the Hunt rule, be immune from exposure, provided he didn't stand for anything better. The Democrats, the party of the New Morality, are likeliest to benefit from this understanding.

Hunt even suggests that this is intentional. If sex were the prime issue, he told the *Washington Post*, "Dick Nixon would be home free and Roosevelt and Kennedy wouldn't." Whoa!! We can't have that!

The cliché that quickly emerged from Hart Week is that the real issue was not his adultery but his judgment. But this is itself a moral judgment, not a news judgment: Many voters consider a man's sexual conduct a significant index of character; the question is to what lengths the press should go to learn, prove, and disclose such things.

Technologically, the modern media give us a new intimacy with public figures. If they can offer a satisfying persona, curiosity generally stops. The public isn't eager for aberrational revelations about Ronald Reagan. But Gary Hart, like Richard Nixon, was elusive. He invited inquiry. What was really driving this guy? An answer, of sorts, transpired. But the way it was gotten left everyone uneasy.

We have no consensus about either sexual or journalistic conduct. Both Hart and his pursuers were a little glib in their self-justifications. In their different ways, they all illustrate the quandary of modern life: that the possible expands faster than the permissible.

# Time to Tighten

THE FEDERAL RESERVE came under a lot of criticism for pushing interest rates well above the inflation rate in 1982 and 1984, thus luring foreign investors into high-interest dollar deposits and pushing the dollar sky high. As the dollar rose, commodity prices naturally fell in terms of dollars, causing considerable grief for the farm belt and the oil patch, as well as the commodity-producing developing countries. Much of this distress was wrongly attributed to trade deficits, when it was really the consequence of abruptly tighter monetary policy. Today, for example, Japan and Germany are experiencing the exact same sort of deflationary squeeze, even though they have trade surpluses.

Turning the U.S. deflationary situation around last year required in some degree a reversal of the policies that had pushed the dollar too high and commodity prices too low. But excesses in one direction do not justify excesses in the other. If money is to serve its purpose, its value has to be reasonably predictable.



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The dollar has now fallen, or been pushed, too far. With most prices now twice as high in Japan as in the U.S., either the dollar has to go back up a bit, or else prices have to rise even more in the U.S., and/or fall even further in Japan. Americans are beginning to speculate on "hedge" assets once again, like silver and gold, rather than contribute to economic growth by buying stocks and bonds. The bond market is running scared, pushing mortgage rates up too. In this situation, for monetary authorities to do nothing is more dangerous than doing something sensible.

A little tighter policy from the Fed, and a lot easier policy from the Bank of Japan and Bundesbank, could easily strengthen the dollar. That, in turn, would strengthen the U.S. economy by restoring global confidence in U.S. bonds, thus lowering long-term interest rates. It would also strengthen Japan's economy by relieving deflationary pressure, thus enabling the Japanese people to buy more goods from the world, as well as more U.S. stocks and bonds. A rising yen can scarcely boost Japanese imports, since the resulting bankrupt firms and unemployed workers in Japan are not in the mood to buy more.

There has been a lot of talk about "coordinated monetary policy" lately. If this means anything, it at least means that countries with falling prices (Japan and Germany) should let short-term interest rates fall, while those with a whiff of inflation (the U.S.) should do the opposite. Solving a monetary problem before it reaches the crisis stage always takes some courage, but with enough outside support, Treasury Secretary James Baker and Fed Vice Chairman Manuel Johnson could easily pull it off.

## Thurgood Marshall v. George Washington

THE CONSTITUTION that emerged from the 1787 deliberations in Philadelphia is a chilly eighteenth-century document, an agreement based upon a well-justified mutual suspicion and rooted in a lively sense of flawed human nature.

That it emerged at all, and that it went on to achieve ratification, was something of a miracle. The Philadelphia delegates had a narrow mandate: improve the Articles of Confederation. That they could actually agree on a federal system owes much to their political sophistication and probably more to their trust in a man who at the convention spoke little, at least for the record: George Washington.

Even so, the ratification battles in the states were often only narrowly won, and the level of political argument was surprisingly high, as in the political classic wrought by "Publius," the *Federalist Papers*, which draw on the highest traditions of Western political reflection.

So now comes Justice Thurgood Marshall, in a speech in Hawaii, denouncing the Framers as narrow men who sacrificed "moral principles for self-interest." Mr. Marshall, clearly an astute evaluator of these matters, did not find "the wisdom, foresight, and sense of justice exhibited by the Framers particularly profound." Specifically, they did not enfranchise blacks and women, the twin talismans of 1987 sensibility, on behalf of whom almost any outrageous statement acquires respectability and even easy assent.

It may well be—indeed, it is easy to believe that this is the case—that Justice Marshall is simply ignorant of that eighteenth-century moment, when women of course did not vote in England, and no one voted in France or in most other countries, and when the Framers achieved what could be achieved and much more.

## Excessive Force

THE BERNHARD GOETZ trial has to be a first: It's the *victims* who have taken the Fifth. James Ramseur and Barry Allen, two of the four muggers Goetz shot, clammed up when the prosecution called them to the stand. Allen is the victim who is in jail for chain-snatching while on probation; Ramseur is the victim who is in jail for robbing and sodomizing a Bronx woman. Both crimes occurred after the subway incident. A third victim, Troy Canty, did testify; he only stole $14 from a video game after his run-in with Goetz. Darrel Cabey, the fourth victim, will not be testifying. He suffered paralysis and brain damage, and has sued Goetz for $50 million. Before the shooting, he had been indicted for armed robbery.

Bernhard Goetz, of course, knew none of this when he was riding the West Side IRT two and a half years ago. People do not travel the subways with lawyers, or with crystal balls. All he had to go on was the situation at hand; and it is his claim that it was threatening—threatening in a way that any New Yorker understands.

Ray Price, the former Nixon speechwriter, put it best. "Those predatory wolf packs are to the subway rider what the rapist is to a woman. . . . Their existence is itself an affront to the inviolability each individual has a right to feel surrounds his person in a public place. . . . If Goetz-type responses became commonplace the subways could, of course, become shooting galleries. But they are not commonplace: Goetz was not followed by an army of imitators. The occasional maiming of a mugger, however, sends an altogether felicitous and entirely appropriate message: Mugging can be a hazardous occupation.

"Goetz sent that message more dramatically than anyone in recent memory, and it was precisely the 'excessiveness' of the force he used that underscored it.

"Three cheers for Bernhard Goetz."



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## The Power of the Court

THE ROTARY CLUB decision—upholding a California law effectively requiring the Rotary to admit women—breaks little new ground. But it nicely illustrates how judicial activism serves not the Constitution, but the imperial interests of the Court itself.

Strictly speaking, the Court was correct in ruling that the California law is not unconstitutional (the Constitution does not deprive the states of the power to regulate public associations). The Court could have upheld the California law by simply declaring: "The Constitution leaves us powerless to intervene."

But the Court will do anything rather than suggest impotence on its part. The Rotary opinion was carefully constructed to make clear that the Court reserved to itself the power to dispose of the Rotary case. It began by stipulating a right to "freedom of association" (a right nowhere to be found either in the original Constitution or in the Bill of Rights). The Court then conceded that the California law "work[ed] some slight infringement" on this mythical right. *But*, it concluded, "that infringement is justified because it serves the state's compelling interest in eliminating discrimination against women." In effect the Court proclaimed: "You have more rights than you recite, but we can take them away whenever we are displeased." The law may be in doubt. A citizen's rights may be in doubt. But the power of the Supreme Court is never in doubt.

## William J. Casey, R I P

WHEN NATIONAL REVIEW was still only an abstraction, the young entrepreneur went to the law offices of William J. Casey for help. Casey incorporated the idea ("National Weekly, Inc." it was called, until, with the first issue ready to go to press, it transpired that there was a publication called *National Liquor Weekly*, which pre-empted the proposed title) and drafted the proposed subscription plan for stock and debentures. Bill Casey had become something of a conservative activist. He served on the board of directors of the Henry Regnery Company, one of only two publishing houses in the late Forties and early Fifties that would bring out a conservative book. Casey had a flamboyant background, serving in the Office of Strategic Services under General William Donovan. He returned from active duty convinced that the Soviet menace was the great challenge of the future. And he was concerned, also, over the growth of omnipotent government in the United States.

Casey was active in the Goldwater campaign in 1964, and a few years later threw his own hat into the ring, running for Congress. That was an amusing episode in Casey's life: He ran, of all things, as a "Javits Republican," having for years scorned, in public and in private, the New York Republicanism associated with Nelson Rockefeller and Jacob Javits. He was soundly defeated, and tiptoed back to the trenches where his old associates, permitting themselves only a hint of a grin, welcomed him home.

His funeral arrangements were wonderfully characteristic. Instead of flowers, the little notice read, cash donations should be sent to the "William J. Casey Fund for the Nicaraguan Freedom-Fighters." That jutjawed gesture of posthumous faith in an operation he had supervised while Director of Central Intelligence brought retaliation by the eulogist, a bishop who presumably understood himself to be sacrificing propriety in the cause of opposing violence (that bishop would have a difficult time singing the lyrics of the national anthem). St. Jeane Kirkpatrick was there, extemporizing her tribute to Casey after the bishop was done, and receiving a spontaneous ovation from the congregation.

What she said about Bill Casey was that he was a "bold, committed man, in an age rent by controversy." And she went on to say, with that rhetorical trenchancy for which she is justly renowned, that he was not "afraid of the Devil." But Casey was a God-fearing man, and he knew that the beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord; before Whom, one firmly believes, those who struggle against the totalitarians will confidently appear.

### After the Fall

Jimmy lusted in his heart;
  FDR saw Lucy.
JFK's liaisons were,
  Posthumously, juicy.
Harding's Mrs. had a hunch
  Something must be cooking,
But nobody carried on
  While the press was looking.

W. H. VON DREELE

# NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

As a devoted fan of your Blackford Oakes books, I feel it my duty to bring to your attention a grave situation. The USSR is publishing your spy novels in bootleg editions without your knowledge or consent.

Of course, to make your books more politically "progressive," certain changes have been made. For example, instead of working for the CIA, the main



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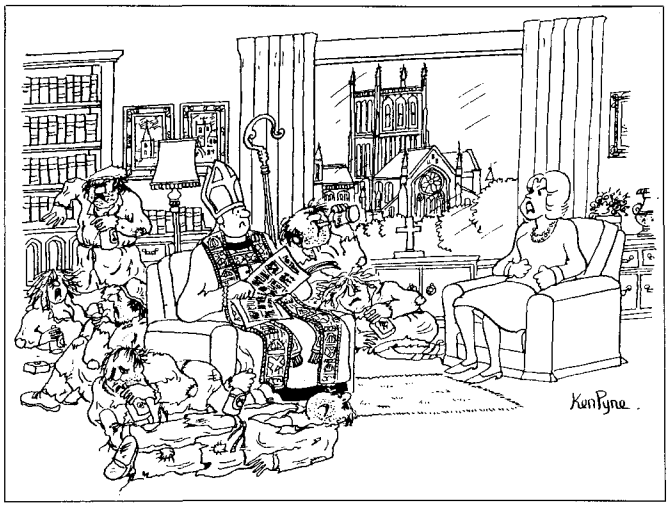


Pyne, *Punch* / Rotheo

*"For heaven's sake, Gerald, must you keep bringing your socialism home with you?"*

character now works for the ACLU. In addition, as befits a liberal-thinking hero, his name has been changed to "Dumbarton Oakes." The plots of the novels have also undergone alterations, with Oakes championing such trendy causes as AIDS research (*Saving the Queen*) and protecting the garment workers' union against importation of stylish men's sportshirts (*See You Later Alligator*).

This is, indeed, an outrage. But there is, I fear, little that can be done to prevent this plagiary. The Soviet Union, never a signatory to the International Copyright Act treaty, has a seventy-year history of copyright abuse. Of course, it could be a lot worse: Think of how many *more* times they would have violated the treaty had they signed it!

Cordially,
Bob W. Ragan
Hollywood, Calif.

Dear Mr. Ragan: You didn't have to tell me you live in Hollywood. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Re your *Firing Line* interview with Henry Kissinger, from a qualified TV professional objective concerned American:

1. The manner in which you sit is rude. Can't you sit upright in an adult fashion? In single shots you appear tilted. In two shots you sit as if your guest has BO.

2. Even in questioning you appear rude. You don't ask questions of a guest (even one whose opinion you favor) but your questions come in a long form of . . . interrogation . . . question.

3. You always come up with the personal insecurity of a long preface attempting to show what . . . you . . . know.

4. Finally, we have tried the Liberal Way and it has not worked. We have tried the Conservative Road, and neither has that worked . . . although Conservatives are still attempting to force a square peg into a round hole.

Sincerely,
Hamilton Morgen
Harrison, N.Y.

P.S.: In my book, the professed Liberals and Conservatives have been the most anti-American.

Dear Mr. Morgen: 1) No, I can't sit upright. Congenital. Most people *don't talk about it out loud!* 2) If you think my questions are long, try Socrates. 3) Of course I want to share what I know about the subject: After all, I spent three hours reading up on it the night before. Have you ever jumped out of an airplane at midnight with a parachute? With the mission of eliminating the guard at the end of a bridge? Well, I haven't either, but if I did, I would certainly want detailed preface instructions. 4) The trick, Morgen, when you run into that problem, is to make the hole a little larger in diameter—and plop!, in goes the square peg. Cordially, WFB

P.S.: In which of your books?

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Your editorial about Ivy-persons causes me to wonder how *you* would answer a solicitation letter signed by a Co-Chair with a letterhead listing 25 Vice Chairs. This is the best we could do.

My best to you,
H. N. Kelley
Bannockburn, Ill.

Mr. Peter V. Ueberroth
Dartmouth Parents Fund
Hanover, New Hampshire 03755

Dear Mr. Ueberroth:

Your March 20 appeal to Dartmouth grandparents is reasonable enough. My husband and I made modest contributions to similar solicitations when our grandson was attending Phillips Exeter Academy. But your letterhead is puzzling.

The appeal appears to come from 26 seating devices. Somehow we do not feel responsive to furniture. Chairs have their uses, but letter writing has not previously, as far as I know, been one of their attributes.

The only other explanation I can see is that the college office is in the clutches of a red-hot feminist who cannot distinguish between the animate and the inanimate.

Sincerely yours,
Lorraine Kelley

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Kelley: Your best is quite good enough. Cordially, **—WFB**



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# Are Two Different Visions Tearing Our World Apart?

## Thomas Sowell is at it again.

Over the last two decades he has taken on and demolished a mountain of myths in one area after another. Now he's turned in another blockbuster that breaks new ground with an originality of perspective and a boldness of style that will make everyone, left and right alike, sit up and take notice.

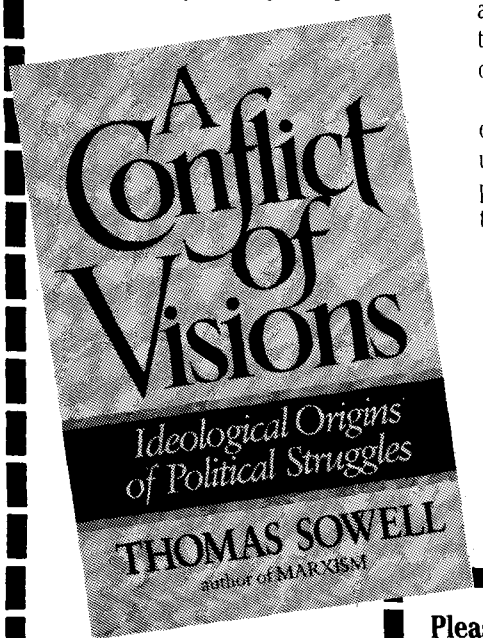
It's a book that will be hotly debated, examined, contested and turned inside-out. Because this time Sowell looks at political conflicts as they have raged for generations, and he has uncovered the remarkable fact that these conflicts have been dominated by two opposing visions that reflect radically different assumptions about the nature of man! On virtually every issue they line up on opposite sides, no matter how unrelated the issues. ***The very meaning of such words as "freedom," "equality," "rights" and "power" differs drastically from one vision to the next.***

So different are these two visions that often people from one camp cannot even understand what those from another are talking about. But that hasn't stopped them from threatening to tear apart societies and egging on the world to potential disaster.

Why? Because as Thomas Sowell points out, visions are powerful things. They underlie our ideologies and our political positions, and they may motivate us more than money, power or fame. People will kill for them and die for them. Indeed, *"We will do almost anything for our visions except think about them."*

*The purpose of this book is to help us think about them.*

- ***Why do concepts like "freedom," "equality," "rights," and "power" have such different meanings to different people?***
- ***Can these differences ever be resolved?***
- ***Why are failed visions in the natural sciences so much easier to abandon than in the social sciences?***
- ***What makes some people undergo radical conversions?***
- ***How does evidence influence vision?***
- ***Are visions stronger than self-interest?***
- ***How do those with one vision regard those with another?***

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# POLITICAL NOTES

While the 1988 spotlight is on the presidential race, 33 Senate seats are up for grabs as well—18 Democratic, 15 Republican. Although it's still hyper-early for forecasting, it is clear, nevertheless, that a few incumbencies will be precarious.

Among Republicans, Dave Durenberger of Minnesota and Chic Hecht of Nevada have, by conventional Washington wisdom, one foot out the Capitol door. Durenberger's recent comments about Americans spying on Israel, plus his ill-disguised craving for the television lens during last December's theoretically "closed" Intelligence Committee hearings on Iran, have given him a decidedly flaky look, says the street talk here. Durenberger also faces a serious opponent in Skip Humphrey, Hubert's son and the current Minnesota attorney general. Hecht, too, will be up against a tough home-state opponent: Nevada Governor Richard Bryan, who already has a hefty lead in the polls. To compound his problem, Hecht's seat traditionally goes Democratic.

Another Republican who may not be back in 1989 is Nebraska Senator David Karnes, the businessman tapped by Governor Kay Orr to replace the deceased Edward Zorinsky, the born-again Democrat. Not only is Karnes unknown and an untested campaigner, but his likely opponent is the very popular former Governor Bob Kerrey. Virginia Senator Paul Trible may also be facing a popular ex-governor—Chuck Robb—and the overwhelming consensus says Robb is the sure winner in that battle. (Everyone here believes that straight arrow Robb will handily deflect the recent cocaine allegations.)

Among Democrats, North Dakota Senator Quentin Burdick seems most likely to lose his seat. Already trailing Byron Dorgan, his certain primary opponent, 3 to 1 in the polls, the 78-year-old Burdick is expected by some to drop out rather than face humiliating defeat. Florida Senator Lawton Chiles, who refuses all out-of-state donations as well as offerings over $100, seemed a likely loser for a while, but was reprieved when popular Republican Congressman Connie Mack decided against a run. Other Democrats who may be facing strong contenders include Ohio Senator Metzenbaum, who has a couple of powerful potential opponents, Representative Bob McEwen and Cleveland Mayor George Voinovich. In New Jersey, Republicans are priming former Heisman Trophy star Pete Dawkins to challenge Frank Lautenberg, and in New Mexico, the GOP is hoping to recruit Representative Manuel Lujan to unseat one-termer Jeff Bingaman.

The big question, of course is, Will the Republicans regain the Senate in 1988? The answer, sadly, is almost certainly not. Democrats were able to repossess the Senate in 1986 in part because of Republican exposure: 22 GOP seats were up, as opposed to 12 Democratic seats. Although 1988 is a Democratic year, the Democrats are far less exposed: They have only three more contested seats than the Republicans. What's more, the majority party's margin in the Senate this year is greater than it was in 1986: 54 Democrats *v.* 46 Republicans now; 53 Republicans *v.* 47 Democrats then.

Before kissing off GOP control, however, Republicans might draw modest solace from Robert Novak's observation that, "Before the election in '80, everyone agreed that the GOP had zero chance of taking over the Senate, and look what happened."

## *Presidential Gore?*

Senator Al Gore's (D., Tenn.) sudden entry into the Democratic presidential race is being taken surprisingly seriously by pols here. Gore joined the race late last month, after being approached by "Impact '88," a group of businessmen headed by millionaire Nate Landow, who were candidate shopping. They told Gore they'd raise $1.5 million for him if he'd take the plunge. This auspicious financial beginning, however, belies some problems Gore's candidacy will certainly encounter.

First, Landow's fundraising reputation is based on his work for Walter Mondale, the clear front-runner in 1984 as well as a former Vice President. "It's a lot easier to raise money for someone with Mondale's stature than for a no-name, one-term senator from a nothing state," says an election veteran here.

Even if Landow raises his share, moreover, there are doubts here that his less experienced fundraising partners can do their part. Also, Gore will have to contend with the image of being bought outright by Landow & Co. "Gore should have held off the announcement," says a supporter. "There should have been distance between his entry and all the talk about the money people."

The greatest threat to Gore, however, comes not from funding, nor from his low name identification or his age (he is 39), but from outside his candidacy in the specter of a Sam Nunn run. "A lot of people who are now whispering in Gore's ear would shift to Nunn if he decided to go for it," says an insider. "Gore's not going to feel safe until it's definitely too late for Nunn to join the race, if that day ever dawns."

The most interesting aspect of Gore's entry and its reception is what it says about the rest of the Democratic lineup. "That Gore was not immediately dismissed as an inexperienced junior senator relays an important message about the whole pool," notes a Democratic election consultant. "It especially shows a lack of respect for Gary Hart's position." And that was B.D.—Before Donna. □



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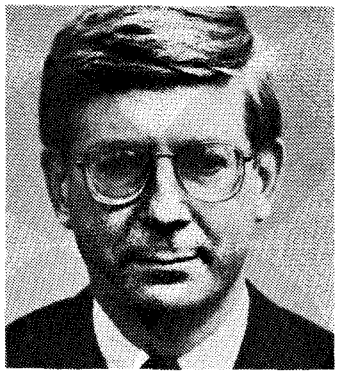
# It's an all star conservative cast



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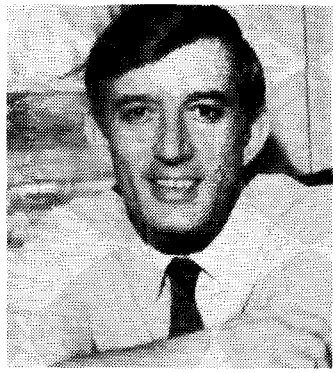

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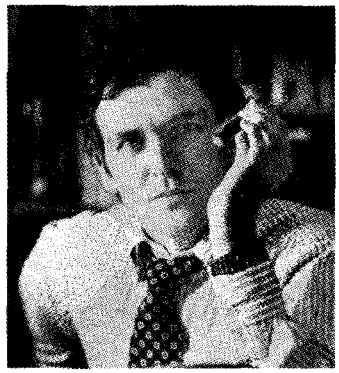

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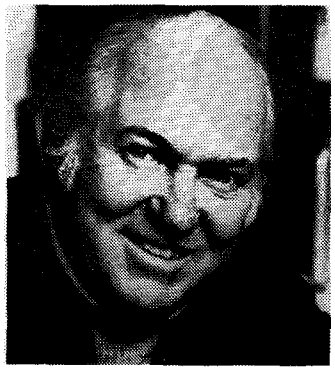
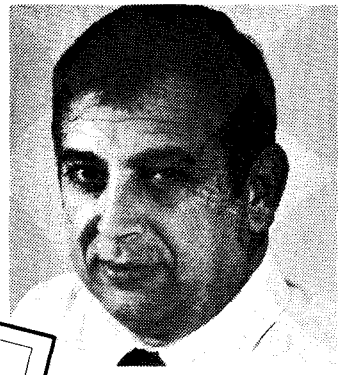


★ JOSEPH SOBRAN

★ CHARLIE REESE



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# THE OGARKOV FACTOR

THE KEY TO Mikhail Gorbachev's bewilderingly rapid moves in the arms-control game probably lies in the still unresolved mystery of the Soviet Politburo's decision, taken in September 1984, to relieve Marshal of the Soviet Union Nikolai V. Ogarkov of his post as Chief of General Staff.

It is important to note that Ogarkov was not disgraced or even really demoted: He was transferred to the almost equal position of Commander-in-Chief of the Western Theater of War. In a way, as we shall see, this amounted to recognition that his views on the nature of any future war between the Warsaw Pact and NATO could not be lightly brushed aside.

In the fall of 1985—about a year after this change of functions—a rumor swept through NATO headquarters in Brussels to the effect that Ogarkov, in a book latterly published in Moscow, *History Teaches Vigilance*, had discarded the established Soviet doctrine that a nuclear war is winnable through a Soviet first strike. In fact, his book merely referred to non-first use of nuclear weapons by the Soviets, and concentrated on the organization of the Soviet armed forces for a conventional war.

The Soviet side has never accepted the Western concept of mutual assured destruction (MAD), beloved of the Warnke-Aaron negotiating team under President Jimmy Carter. In simplified terms, the Soviet view was that in a nuclear as in any other kind of war, you play to win, by getting in first. The classic expression of this doctrine was in Marshal Sokolovsky's work, *Military Strategy* (1963 and 1968; English translation, 1978).

What is now known to Western intelligence (and therefore to the leading NATO governments) is that Ogarkov did begin to question the validity of the Sokolovsky orthodoxy at a time of rapidly increasing technological sophistication in such fields as miniaturization and guidance systems. He is believed to have pressed the view that once NATO had begun to deploy Pershing II and cruise missiles, the risks of a nuclear exchange that the Soviet side could no longer be sure of winning became unacceptably high.

In other words, the Sokolovsky doctrine made perfect sense so long as the Soviet side had complete superiority in intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF), but became dubious once the Soviet monopoly was gone. As long-time readers of this column will know, I consistently argued on the same lines during that critical period (1978-84) when it was clear that the SS-20 gave the USSR the power to wipe out NATO's installations in a single attack, leaving the Soviets' enormous conventional forces with the militarily almost risk-free task of occupying and policing the countries of the defeated West.

It appears that Ogarkov's arguments did not meet with the unanimous approval of the Politburo and the powerful Defense Council. There were strong opposing voices. However, there were no grounds for firing Ogarkov or disgracing him. Instead, since he was no longer convinced that the USSR would inevitably win a nuclear war, he was given the biggest and most important job in the conventional sector.

IT HAS BECOME clear that one of those convinced by the Ogarkov thesis was Mikhail Gorbachev. At the time of the great debate, though a member of the Politburo, he was not yet in a position to impose decisions: The ailing and intellectually barren Chernenko was still in the chair. Now, Gorbachev is on top, and in a position to stun Western public opinion by his apparent readiness to accept the zero option not only for INF but even for short-range missiles.

One has to hand it to this unlikely peasant from the Caucasus: He is unquestionably the number-one propagandist since Goebbels. (A shame that Chancellor Kohl felt obliged to apologize for saying, in effect, just that.)

Now let us look at some realities, from the standpoint of Western security. We should never forget that, from the *Soviet* standpoint, arms control is a strategic military operation, closely supervised by the Defense Council, and designed to achieve superiority for the Soviet side at minimum risk.

In Mikhail Gorbachev's place, convinced by Ogarkov's arguments, what would I do? I would remember that superiority, once achieved, can be maintained in one of two ways: either by keeping one jump ahead of the enemy; or by causing the enemy to lag behind.

The first of these options is by far the more expensive, especially since the advent of the SDI ("Star Wars") concept, at a time when the new Soviet leader has taken stock of the backwardness and stagnation of the Soviet system. The second is temptingly cheap, and relatively easy to achieve (or so it is reasoned) by the tested process of appealing directly to Western public opinion above the heads of Western leaders.

In this context, what do Mr. Gorbachev's proposals amount to? The answer, plainly, is the second of the superiority options: no nuclear weapons in the European theater (Marshal Ogarkov's very own theater); total Soviet superiority in biological and chemical weapons; overwhelming superiority in conventional forces; almost certainly, the decoupling of Europe from America (a major Soviet objective); the nuclear defense of Europe reduced to the British and French deterrents, the use of which (independently of American power) would amount to national suicide.

Checkmate.

Is that what we want? □



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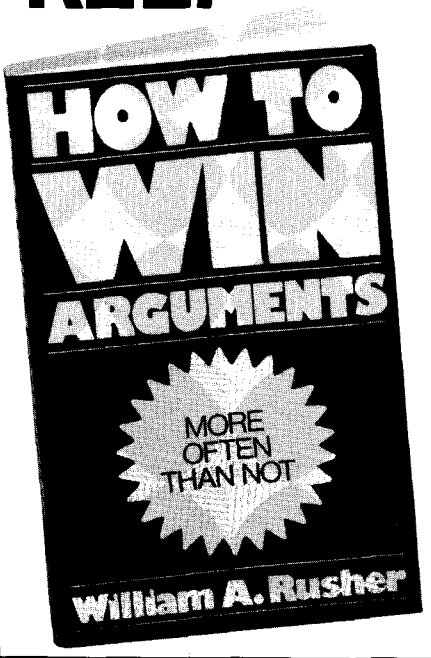


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# City of Scams • Peter Weber

# The Streets Were Paved With Gold Diggers

While New York City's corruption scandals were bubbling and bursting this past year, the city of Minneapolis, Minnesota, was shocked by the news that one of its own former candidates for the city council, George Belair, had been arrested. It was soon revealed that during his campaign he had bought $31 worth of Twinkies and coffee for a group of senior citizens—clearly a campaign violation. Mr. Belair surrendered at the police station and spent about eight and a half hours in custody, while a stunned citizenry speculated how many times in the past he might have bought Twinkies (or Cheese Nips or Hydrox or who knows what else?) for susceptible voters. Mr. Belair took off for Florida, leaving behind family members to tend his refrigerator and other political machines, and to deal with the charges in his absence: "It wasn't just Twinkies," said his granddaughter on the telephone recently. "He also gave them Ho-Hos."

While Mr. Belair was out of town, New York City's scandals continued apace. In court testimony, it was alleged that Lester Shafran, the former director of New York City's Parking Violations Bureau, had received, as a consideration from just one sleazy government contractor, meals, vacations in Mexico, $1,800 worth of television and VCR equipment, a trip to Florida, a trip to Maryland for his nephew's Bar Mitzvah, the videotaping of his daughter's Bas Mitzvah, the renovation of his kitchen, gifts of lingerie, tickets to *The Little Shop of Horrors*, *Cats*, and *La Cage aux Folles*, an increasingly useful gold money clip, and a gold pin. Some New Yorkers were outraged. Who was that lingerie for, anyway?

Mr. Shafran was a pawn in a criminal group run from the top by the former Bronx Democratic Party leader Stanley Friedman and the former Queens Borough President dent and Democratic boss Donald Manes. (Manes, whose name rhymes with Janus, the ancient god who looked both ways before cutting a deal, committed suicide in March 1986.) Both men ran patronage kingdoms, dispensing jobs, favors, and contracts, and collecting bribes. In November, Friedman collected a conviction, as did Shafran and two other co-defendants.

Once the Friedman-Manes-PVB scandal broke, it just took off, as these things do. All the press guys became Bob Woodward, all the assistant prosecutors Eliot Ness, and among the party boys the rule was: Squeal before you get squealed on. There have been at least three dozen indictments so far, spread throughout the city government. With constant new revelations and with the various investigations spreading north toward Albany, that number could double or triple.

The "Wedtech scandal" alone could depopulate whole neighborhoods. It began in January of this year when four officers of Wedtech Corporation, a defense-contracting firm, pleaded guilty to bribing city, state, and federal officials to help them get nearly half a billion dollars in no-bid government contracts. Implicated so far are former state Army National Guard chief Vito Castellano, Bronx Congressmen Mario Biaggi and Robert Garcia, and former Bronx Borough President Stanley Simon, all Democrats. (Everyone in New York City is a Democrat.) Announcements indicating up to twenty future indictments reveal that the case extended not only to the U.S. Congress, but into the Small Business Administration and the U.S. Navy. Even Lyn Nofziger, the former presidential advisor, may be involved, and Ed Meese has been questioned.

Prominent New Yorkers have been hauled in for, among other charges, conspiracy under the RICO statute, perjury, mail fraud, extortion, perjury, obstruction of justice, perjury, income-tax evasion, grand larceny, and perjury.

New York even corrupts beauty queens. Former Miss America Bess Myerson, one of Mayor Ed Koch's closest friends, has been forced from her job as Commissioner of Cultural Affairs by charges that she may have influenced a judge to reduce her boyfriend's alimony payments. The boyfriend, Carl Capasso, himself a part of the city's web of corruption, has pleaded guilty to federal tax evasion and was sentenced to four years in prison and fined five hundred thousand dollars.

Commissions were appointed to think about the scandal and its sources; politicians and prosecutors frowned about it on television. But while the politicians responded with

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alarm and alacrity, the public responded by turning to the sports pages. Apathy became a theme. Michael Sovern, Columbia University president and head of a commission appointed to study the ethics problems raised by the scandals, told reporter Andy Logan: "We were surprised and dismayed by the lack of public reaction. We came to believe the public's apathy rests in considerable measure on a widespread belief that government is so rotten that it doesn't do any good to do anything about it."

Shortly after his indictment, Stanley Friedman was reelected Bronx party leader. Donald Manes was quickly replaced by his deputy, Claire Shulman, and Queens Democrats—or the mere eighty thousand who voted in the primary out of about 500,000 who were registered—confirmed her appointment. And after Friedman was convicted last November, he was replaced by someone named George Friedman, who was widely recognized as Stanley's own "handpicked successor." There were a few chuckles about one (unrelated) Friedman replacing another, but little noticeable outrage at the underlying truth: There have been virtually no changes in the organization. "As far as I can tell, it's all the same people," says one Bronx assemblyman. This includes a party official said to be the subject of at least two federal investigations.

If New Yorkers are apathetic, in their defense it must be said they have a lot to be apathetic about. For one thing, the history, both ancient and modern, of corruption in New York does not encourage optimism about reform. Mayor Ed Koch, a scion of New York's "reform Democrats," proudly began his mayoralty as a vocal opponent of clubhouse politics. He pledged to clean house. But by 1986, the people he had appointed to high office more because of political friendship than for their ability were dropping like dominoes before grand-jury investigations. Same old thing all over again. Most New Yorkers seem to feel in their guts that somehow the scandals are the system, that they lie beyond the efforts of any individuals or any commissions, no matter how ponderous their brows or blue their ribbons.

Mark Pacella

## *Occasions of Sin*

THE THINKERS and prosecutors have mostly been chipping away at the edges. U.S. Attorney Rudolph Giuliani, the white knight in many of these indictments, observes that New York State's laws are inadequate to "control, deter, and punish" not only outright corruption, but also legal but dubious conflicts of interest, which he sees as pandemic. A few thorny issues have become familiar: People rightly doubt the wisdom of letting state legislators and county party leaders represent private companies before state agencies. They also worry that political figures who are both party leaders and elected officials (like Manes) can accumulate too much power over their legislative colleagues. And, of course, there has been talk about limiting state and local campaign contributions.

Thus, most of the cogitators have zoomed in on the idea that it's the rules that need rethinking. The public, in its apathy, seems closer to the truth: It's not that New York lacks rules against sin but that it is overwhelmed by temptations, like an alcoholic bartender.

As New York politicians sometimes acknowledge, on the average both the state and the city try to do more, end up spending more, and get less for it than almost any other state or city in the country. In 1984, per-capita state and local government spending was almost 43 per cent above the national average. The state is at the top of the list in terms of per-capita welfare expenditures, and the city's tax burden remains way above that of all other large American cities: In 1982 its per-capita taxes were 25 per cent higher than second-place San Francisco's. As one study notes, "New York has a municipal work force that is 22 per cent larger for the functions it performs as compared with the work forces of other cities."

Inefficiency has a long and intimate relationship with corruption: The frustrations of bureaucracy give businessmen an enormous incentive to "grease the skids." There's no better place to observe the connection than in the Big Apple's housing and construction industries. Way back in 1971, the Knapp Commission heard testimony that "Many of the statutes and rules and regulations are not only unrealistic but lead to the temptation for corruption." The commission was told that "as much as 5 per cent of all total construction costs in the city are attributable to graft paid to city employees." Developers say little has really changed. In New York, the friendly neighborhood building inspector has long been an incarnate symbol of ordinary corruption, the day-to-day kind that doesn't hit the newspaper headlines. As one small landlord confides: "You gotta do what you gotta do. It takes so long [to get the system to acknowledge cleared housing violations], it may be cheaper to pay to speed the paperwork."

You gotta do what you gotta do. In a city where daily life and business are bound by a network of detailed regulations, what matters most is the bottom line: getting



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things done. If as a businessman or politician you have to sacrifice a little moral purity in the process, well, that's just one of the costs of doing business in New York. As some Queens residents said in Donald Manes's defense: "At least he got things done." Says Adam Walinsky, a former aide to Robert Kennedy and later chairman of the New York State Commission of Investigation: "The fact is you've got a government that is into every nook and cranny, creating vast opportunities for corruption—and it's all taken advantage of."

New York State and City budgets bloom with ambiguous projects, "alliances," "partnerships," public-benefit corporations, nonprofit community-development organizations, industrial-cooperation programs, school and business alliances, strategic resurgence funds, revolving multi-tenant assistance guarantees, and tactically targeted high-risk women and minority dropout waste prevention "second chance" renaissance funds. The money flows into these things like Niagara Falls, and there's too much to monitor properly.

Take a close look, for example, at one peculiar kind of quasi-governmental fiefdom, New York State's "public authorities." A public authority is supposed to be a self-sufficient agency that helps finance all kinds of projects—in the public interest, of course—with grants and low-interest loans. These agencies are called "self-sufficient" because they raise money by issuing bonds, but in fact they may be closely intertwined financially with the state government. For one thing, if they have financial problems the state is expected to come to their aid. And yet they are several steps removed from voter control and, often, from public accountability.

## *In a Good Cause*

State Assemblyman Oliver Koppell has compiled a two-hundred-page list describing public authorities and their individual mandates. There are a lot of "waste management" and transportation or parking authorities listed, but there are also a lot of agencies with broad and vague purposes such as "to increase or preserve the supply of a range of socially desirable assets." Just what exactly constitutes a "socially desirable asset" is anyone's guess—and it seems that just about anyone's guess would probably be right. Minority- and women-owned businesses seem to be *a priori* socially desirable assets; but then there are such recipients as Bausch and Lomb, the Eaves-Brooks Costume Co., and Freezer Queen Foods, Inc.

Freezer Queen Foods received approval from the Jobs Development Authority for combined tax-exempt and taxable financing of $7.2 million to keep a facility open and preserve four hundred jobs. The authority says this is the largest transaction it has ever approved. You look at the photographs of happy workers in bonnets peeling off socially desirable frozen patties from socially desirable machinery, and, well, no doubt they make excellent frozen patties, but it all gives you a funny feeling inside. A 1985 survey by *New York Newsday* of more than two hundred companies that got JDA loans indicated that two-thirds had added fewer jobs than promised, and many had fewer jobs, period.

The poor you have always with you, and, fortunately, nobody pays much attention to what you do with them. How many New Yorkers now remember the late-Sixties scandal over corruption in the city's anti-poverty programs? "It's so bad that it will take ten years to find out what's really been going on inside the Human Resources Administration [New York City's huge social-services agency]," one assistant DA told the *New York Times* back in 1969. All sorts of people from the top dog down were stealing from the poor. When Mayor Koch first took office in 1978, he immediately set about cleaning up the programs. To help him he hired Haskell Ward, a former State Department specialist and Ford Foundation employee. Ward was appointed the Commissioner of the Community Development Agency, where he dug up "thievery, graft, extortion, nepotism, ballot tampering, payoffs, and misappropriation of funds," as Koch wrote in *Mayor*.

Ward did a tremendous job cleaning up the agency but he soon moved to another job in the city administration. He now works as a private consultant. Ward makes it clear that the lax enforcement of the law was partially the result of political pressure. Similar corruption, he says, certainly persists. "It's not always clear," he says, "that the [agency] commissioners are on top of things. I think it's very clear that somebody's been looking the other way."

For the most up-to-date example of the sleaze that runs just below the surface of "progressive" social policy, take a gander at the city's "7a housing administrator program." Under this program, a group of tenants, and/or the city's Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD), can petition the city's Housing Court to appoint a temporary administrator to run a building allegedly in danger of default or in serious violation of the housing code. The landlord retains title, and must still pay the mortgage and insurance, but receives no rents and may be locked out of the building for the duration. The rents go to the 7a administrator, who in theory uses the money to straighten out the building's problems. In reality the program is a goldmine for avaricious tenants, petty HPD bureaucrats, and crooked 7a administrators and contractors. Tenants and community groups can use the 7a administrator program to divert funds for their own use. HPD is not beyond going after decent landlords it doesn't like. And a scathing report by the city's Department of Investigation found that corruption among the 7a administrators themselves is endemic—rent money chronically disappears with repairs left undone.

And yet the 7a problem has never become an official "scandal"; practically nobody knows about it aside from the landlords who have had their buildings taken over or the tenants who have watched their rent money disappear into some slick operator's pockets.

This kind of corruption, invisible except to its victims, permeates the city. Much of the city's anti-poverty effort is run through a horde of publicly funded, but frequently privately controlled, not-for-profit community and neighborhood organizations. These all-purpose advocates for the oppressed receive uncounted millions in government grants to do everything from running summer-job and job-training programs, to counseling gang members and graffiti artists, to providing instruction in proper parenting, to organizing rent strikes, to advocating gay and lesbian rights. In truth, some good and important work gets done. But the funding comes from so many different directions it's hard to keep track; and it goes out to so many groups that it can't possibly be properly monitored. As one former high-



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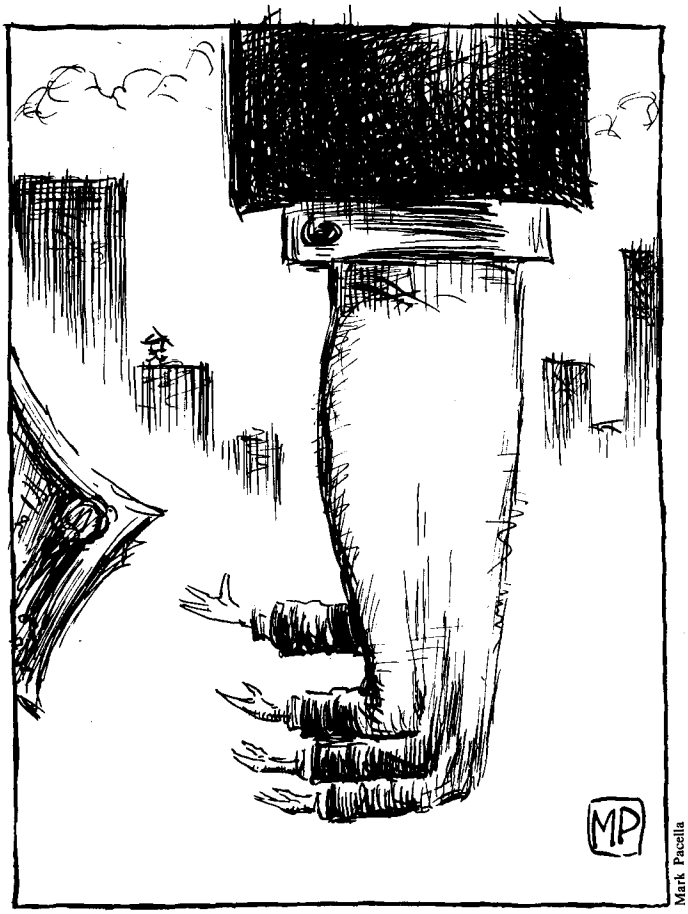

Mark Pacella

ranking city official put it: "It can be very hard to distinguish the phony community organizations from the real ones." Anything with "community" or "neighborhood" or "youth" in its name seems to enjoy a presumption of immunity. (How about "Youth Energy Corps"? What does it do, increase the energy of youths? Youths have enough energy as it is.) The closest voters ever get to having a say in how their money gets siphoned off is by electing the politicians who appoint the heads of the agencies that make the discretionary loans and grants to the private groups. The voter has probably never heard of the agencies themselves, let alone the numerous programs the money disappears into.

William Stern, now a private businessman, served as chairman of Mario Cuomo's 1982 gubernatorial campaign, after which he became CEO of the Urban Development Corporation. The UDC is a state agency that does everything from building convention centers to financing economically depressed mushroom farms. It is so large and its impact on the city is so great that its financial difficulties precipitated the great New York City fiscal crisis of the 1970s, during which the city almost went bankrupt.

"The fact that government is involved in so much in New York creates the motivation for sleaze," says Stern, with rueful hindsight. "And there is a point in the river where sleaze meets corruption. When government becomes involved in an area, it creates the motivation to influence government. And the process of influencing government is always sleazy. . . . It's a side of liberalism that was not predicted, and I think not completely understood. You have this octopus-like welfare state, with entire authorities and agencies no one knows much about, and the government becomes very much organized to push through the interests of whoever makes their influence felt. If selected companies can get low-cost government loans, the ambiance is of people scrambling to get them, and of people brokering all this. In New York State you find all kinds of 'progressive' ideas that contribute to this process. For example, instead of lowering taxes across the board you get selective tax abatements, so the idea for a company naturally becomes, How can I get one of those? So in a campaign in New York there's no such thing as liberal or conservative, that's for the tourists. The whole thing is, Who's going to get the contracts? Who's going to be the law firm? . . . Most of UDC's function was to give money to politically connected businesses. The ethnic organizations in New York, for example, have been turned into vehicles for pursuing government business."

Workaday influence-peddling rarely makes headlines. But as public policy becomes more far-reaching and the illicit influence follows it like a snake, the inefficiency and cynicism it engenders can become oppressive. Sometimes it seems the entire moral atmosphere in New York City is that of the con, and this is by no means only attributable to the Mafia and the sinister concrete industry and the corner drug dealer. *New York Daily News* columnist Jimmy Breslin recently hung out in front of a welfare office for a story. He observed a couple of people in fancy fur jackets waiting to get checks. "They had displayed the instincts of a Bronx politician," notes Breslin: "extreme willingness to steal public money." New York has become a city of scammers, from the most disfranchised to the most privileged.

## *The Gravy Train*

FOR THE TRUTH is, New Yorkers want the goodies. Public apathy and cynicism in the face of political scandals may thus arise not only from a feeling of helplessness, but from unconscious sympathy with corrupt public officials. If you're paying off a building inspector, if you're squeezing your landlord at every opportunity or getting a steal on a rent-controlled apartment even though your salary has six digits, if you're abusing the welfare or court system, or if you're just doing what you gotta do to survive in a bureaucratized society, it is not surprising that you don't get excited over a few morally unshaven politicians like Stanley Friedman. Who cares about contracts to collect parking tickets anyway? Most New Yorkers probably took any intimation that meter maids were not incorruptible as encouraging news.

As it happens, that is precisely the moral climate in many socialist countries. When the government is the elephant in the road, how do you criticize those who take to the bushes? The real folk heroes of the socialist state are not the firebrand revolutionaries in mausoleums, but the slick operators and the black-marketeers.

Meanwhile, back to the Midwest. The kid-cake distributor of Minneapolis, George Belair, was finally located in Florida. Apparently they dropped the charges against him, and now he walks around wearing a hat that says, "Ho-Ho." But that's not all. He says his opponent in the election (the incumbent) has problems of his own, involving Super Bowl and baseball tickets, among other things. People are talking about a life sentence. □



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# MOSCOW IN THE PACIFIC

GHOSTLY IMAGES linger from a thousand World War II movies: American leathernecks storming sun-washed beaches of the South Pacific, steel-grey naval vessels surging through the blue waters toward ultimate victory over our enemies. Nowadays, when people talk about American security interests abroad, they're usually thinking of Europe. But since World War II, America's maritime strength in the Pacific has given us and our allies a significant strategic edge over the Soviet Union, permitting the Allies to concentrate on Europe, and forcing the Soviets' attentions away from that theater. That edge can no longer be taken for granted; the Soviets are moving with determination to penetrate America's Pacific shield.

In only 15 years (1970-85) U.S. trade in East Asia and the Pacific increased tenfold. By 1980 the Pacific rim had eclipsed Europe as America's primary trading partner. Today the Pacific accounts for at least 35 per cent of all U.S. trade. This commerce includes not only consumer goods but also strategic products essential to NATO—some $1.2 billion worth of semiconductors; another $120 million worth of microchips; vital components of our F-16 fighter aircraft; and other military hardware. Trade with the Pacific rim confers enormous economic benefits, but in military terms, it also creates a new point of vulnerability. Moscow has obviously taken note.

Over the past few decades the Soviets have quietly stepped up their military activity in the Pacific. In 1960, for example, they had twenty land divisions in East Asia. Today they have 53: a ground force of some 450,000 troops, representing about a quarter of the Soviet Union's total available military manpower. The Soviets' land buildup has been matched by an equally explosive leap in the quality and quantity of their naval forces. Moscow's Pacific fleet, now its largest fleet, is no longer designed for coastal defense but for ocean-going, offensive operations. The Soviets' Pacific fleet alone has about seven hundred ships, including more than eighty principal surface combatants and 130 submarines. By comparison, the Reagan Administration's goal has been to give the U.S. a six-hundred-ship navy. The Soviets send large numbers of their most modern ships and subs to the Pacific fleet, including two of the three operational *Kiev*-class aircraft carriers, more than a score of Backfire bombers, Delta II ballistic-missile-carrying submarines, and Victor III attack submarines.

Not only are there more Russian ships in the Pacific than there used to be, they are more active as well. In 1965, Soviet deployments in the open Pacific (beyond coastal waters) totaled one thousand ship-days per year. By 1983, the number had jumped to more than 15,000 ship-days per year, plus an additional nine thousand in the Indian Ocean. Thus Soviet vessels operate for a total of some 24,000 ship-days in the region—pretty astounding for a nation the Washington think-tankers like to stress is a land power. The United States, a maritime nation, tops this by only about 11,000. The Soviets periodically carry out major ocean exercises in the Pacific, emphasizing air- and sea-strike capabilities, anti-submarine warfare, and communications and control; these exercises give them experience in sustaining naval operations far from home port. This expertise is an important element of the Soviet Union's growing ability to project power into areas far from its own shores.

About 90 per cent of Soviet vessels must be brought to the Pacific from distant shipyards. Nearly all fuel, supplies, and other material support for the Soviets' remote Asian-based forces must also be transported, at great cost, across half the globe. The high price Moscow is willing to pay to sustain military forces in the Pacific suggests the importance it places on that part of the world.

In the past, there was one big obstacle to Soviet expansion in the Pacific: geography. Ships passing in and out of Vladivostok (the Soviet Union's major Pacific port) must funnel through the Japanese straits—one of which is sometimes ice-bound, and all of which, like any choke point, are vulnerable to attack. By the stunning transformation of a former U.S. naval base at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam into a permanent Soviet warm-water port, Moscow has removed this stumbling block to its ambitions in the Pacific.

SINCE 1979, the year Brezhnev promised Carter that the Soviet Union would not establish military bases in Vietnam, the Soviets have spent an estimated $3 billion on Cam Ranh Bay. According to the People's Republic of China, no Vietnamese are allowed in the Cam Ranh Bay area. On an average day, Cam Ranh Bay services more than twenty Soviet ships, two to four submarines, and various aircraft, including anti-submarine-warfare aircraft, electronic-reconnaissance aircraft, and fighter interceptors deployed to the South China Sea. Cam Ranh Bay represents the largest non-Warsaw Pact deployment of Soviet naval forces outside the Soviet Union.

Cam Ranh Bay is conveniently located astride the sea-lanes of communication that link the Pacific and Indian Oceans. From this vantage point, Soviet naval forces could attempt to cut America off from its East Asian allies and could launch unrefueled strikes throughout the region, which includes Japan and the Philippines.

*Mr. Cropsey is Deputy Under Secretary of the Navy.*



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Last year, for instance, Soviet Badger and Bear long-range aircraft, taking off from Cam Ranh Bay, penetrated both Philippine and Japanese air-defense zones. On at least four occasions, Soviet aircraft armed with A-6 Kingfish nuclear-capable air-to-surface missiles penetrated Japanese airspace, flying unannounced, in attack-style flight patterns. The Soviets' submarine activity at the base also raises the alarming possibility that, in time of war, Soviet attack subs, able to reach the open seas much more easily from Cam Ranh Bay than from northern Soviet ports, might threaten Allied naval and merchant shipping.

Last July, Mikhail Gorbachev gave a foreign-policy speech at Vladivostok emphasizing the importance of the Far East to the Soviet Union. Gorbachev puts his money where his mouth is. In a score of recent diplomatic moves, the Soviets have acted to acquire and strengthen client regimes and neutralize the U.S. deterrent in the region. Vietnam is one example. Cambodia is another. Communist guerrilla movements throughout the region, particularly in the Philippines, are yet more. With bases at Subic and Cam Ranh Bays, the Soviet fleet could stretch a net across the Pacific approaches to East and South Asia, blocking not only American sea-lanes of communication, but also the oil and trade routes of Japan and other allies.

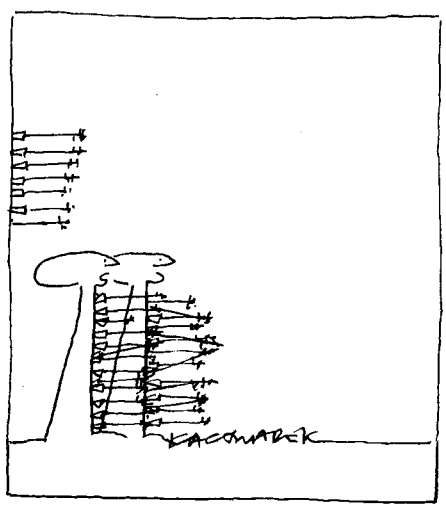
As part of their Pacific strategy, the Soviets have supported the idea of a "South Pacific nuclear-free zone"; Gorbachev highlighted the idea in his Vladivostok speech. Under the extremes of the Soviet interpretation, nuclear-capable U.S. warships could not locate in or even move through the South Pacific. This would sharply erode the operational flexibility and deterrent value of the U.S. Navy. Meanwhile, New Zealand's recent denial of port privileges to U.S. ships capable of carrying nuclear weapons may have inadvertently advanced Soviet interests by weakening the Australian-New Zealand-U.S. alliance (ANZUS) and the deterrent it presents.

In another diplomatic triumph for the Soviets, the South Pacific nation of Kiribati in 1985 granted the Soviets "fishing rights" to nearly two million square miles of territorial waters. This island-chain nation stretches three thousand miles across the Pacific, forming a barrier between Hawaii to the north and Australia and New Zealand to the south. For rights to these waters, the Soviets paid about one and a half million dollars, 20 per cent of Kiribati's GNP. That is a lot of money for the Soviets to pay to fish, but not too much given the potential intelligence harvest they may have reaped.

KIRIBATI did not, however, give the Soviets docking and landing rights, and, to its credit, has chosen not to renew the fishing agreement. But in January, the Soviets paid another island-nation, Vanuatu, one and a half million dollars for another "fishing agreement." This time the Soviets got not only the right to operate within the islands' waters, but also the right to use Vanuatu's ports, plus access for Aeroflot to the islands' airports.

Vanuatu may be more familiar to Americans under its old name, the New Hebrides, an island chain lying just south of the Solomon Islands and Guadalcanal. Kiribati will be known to some readers by the old name of one of its island groups, the Gilberts, where, at Tarawa, the U.S. fought one of the bloodiest battles of World War II. The strategic location of these islands made them a springboard for the Allies' Central Pacific drive in 1943-44. The Japanese knew exactly how important control of these seas was to the U.S., and so do the Soviets.

While we are still busy chewing over the lessons of Vietnam, the Soviets have been studying the lessons of World War II. One of those lessons, as Stalin once put it, is that "victory in Europe might be won first in Asia."



*"We'll wait until they run out of arrows."*

In 1981, Admiral Sergei Gorshkov, then Commander in Chief of the Soviet Navy, published an article on "Strategic Operations in the Pacific Theater of Military Operations in World War II." In it, he notes the "exceptionally large scale" of Pacific sea-combat operations in a war whose principal missions were accomplished on land fronts. Gorshkov's perceptions of the strategic importance of the Pacific are revealing, as Gorshkov is the man responsible for the Soviets' naval buildup, and especially for the transformation of the Soviet Pacific fleet from a coastal defense force to one with offensive air and sea capabilities.

Gorshkov's article zeroes in on three Japanese campaigns: the attack on Pearl Harbor, the capture of Singapore, and the seizure of the Philippines. All three were successful offensives against the Allies, and all three were examples of what Gorshkov calls "the decisive role" of air and sea supremacy. Moreover, as he also carefully points out, two of the operations did not utilize aircraft carriers, an unusual characteristic for maritime Japan, but one interesting to the Soviets, who have few carriers.

WHAT DOES Gorshkov conclude? At Pearl Harbor, he notes, surprise, deception, and the offensive initiative allowed Japan to cripple a major portion of U.S. Pacific naval forces so as to mount subsequent attacks "without fear of serious enemy opposition." Again, he says, by destroying Britain's principal naval and air forces, Japan's air and amphibious campaign in Malaya enabled it to seize "a highly advantageous, key position, which would ensure favorable conditions for a subsequent offensive drive toward Indonesia and Australia, as well as westward toward the Indian Ocean." Yet again, by gaining air superiority and stripping U.S. ground forces of naval and air support, the Philippine operation created "favorable conditions for subsequent military operations against the Dutch East Indies and Australia."

Gorshkov addresses only three brief paragraphs to the Allies' eventual victory against Japan, and they are interesting as well. He argues that once the United States and Britain had rebuilt their navies, Japan lost its ability to hold and consolidate the vast terri-



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tories it had taken. Given time to mobilize our military and economic resources, the U.S. won. Soviet strategists today face the same prospect of U.S. victory in a prolonged war.

One lesson of World War II, which we frequently forget but which Russians such as Gorshkov remember, is that America's control of the Pacific is vital to our defense. Disputatious defense analysts may debate the advantages of U.S. maritime superiority, but the Soviets do not.

Prior to World War II, America's Pacific strategy was viewed as "naval strategy," not really national strategy. But when the United States entered World War II because of an attack on the Pacific front, the "naval" Pacific strategy became national strategy: The global reach of our enemies made our need for global maritime superiority crystal clear. So also today: Though the cornerstone of Western defense against Soviet expansion is the NATO defense of Europe, given the Soviets' global ambitions, we cannot afford to slight Pacific security.

The United States ought to continue to step up efforts to strengthen free-world cooperation in the Pacific. Among Pacific nations, there is a growing appreciation of the dangers of Soviet naval activity and the importance of a strong, unified deterrent. Despite those who manufacture opposition to the U.S. presence at Clark Air Force Station and Subic Bay, the Philippine government and people continue to support them. Recently, Japan removed its cap on defense spending. And Peking, which shares with us a common security concern over the Soviet navy's expansion, has engaged in new cooperative efforts with our military, including, for instance, a recent visit by the U.S. Navy to Qingdao.

All of Moscow's recent activity in the region—the size and growth of the Soviets' Pacific fleet, the transformation of Cam Ranh Bay, the increased operations activity, Soviet diplomatic initiatives—are strong evidence that the Soviets aim for a forceful, long-term role in the Pacific. Their intentions are clear. Ours must be equally so. □

# Alice in W-4 Land

THE Internal Revenue Service is now offering a new, simpler W-4 tax-withholding form—the form that tells employers how much to withhold from employees' salaries. The stated reason for the new form, the two-page W-4A, is that the original four-page W-4 was too complicated.

This is, quite simply, ridiculous. Answers supplied to the following commonly asked questions should make it clear that nothing is simpler than the four-page W-4.

**Q:** Suppose you don't file your W-4 by October 1, 1987. What happens?

**A:** Your employer is required to withhold income tax on the basis of one withholding allowance if you claimed single status on your present W-4 and two allowances if you claimed married status unless you were divorced before you were fired from a job you were hired for while single, except that if you're over 21 this does not apply and will result in too much tax being withheld if you paid any on your 1967 income-tax refund in 1988, whichever comes first, providing batteries were included.

**Q:** What do you mean, "providing batteries were included"?

**A:** Each battery should equal the same amount, in value, as each personal-exemption deduction ($1,900 in 1972). Your total number of batteries (excluding waxy buildup) is subtracted from your wages, which is subject to, usually.

**Q:** How many batteries is a person entitled to claim?

**A:** You're entitled to a battery for yourself, your spouses, and each of your dependents, if 21. But you may be entitled to more if you itemize and fit into the sliced-bread category.

Watch out for this: If you claim more than ten batteries (whether included or not), your employer must submit your W-4 to the IRS via the White House and Iran, not necessarily in that order.

**Q:** What is the sliced-bread category?

**A:** The answer is complicated and will be answered below.

**Q:** Suppose you file early in the year but then get some unexpected income and therefore face an underpayment penalty. What can you do?

**A:** Fill out the first four lines (lines 1 through 5) on the W-4.

HOWEVER, filling out lines 1 through 5 and *beyond* allows you to claim a withholding junk-mail allowance for each member of your family so long as you fit into the sliced-bread category, which gives you an extra allowance if 1) you are divorced and your former spouse is not; or 2) you are a husband or wife by marriage; or 3) you are single and have something to pack Styrofoam in.

You can reduce all expenses if you.

**Q:** How can you claim exempt status?

**A:** By being unable to read line E on Form W-4, line 4, or between them, as explained on lines 7 come 11 on the worksheet. Get Publication 417 or Publication 10X for details, whichever is clearer, or divide both Publications by the number of pay periods each year, or before, then multiply Married Workers' Combined Annual Income by the Privacy Act. Stop here!

**Q:** What is the sliced-bread category?

**A:** Consult Publication 418, due out soon. —JOHN KEEFAUVER



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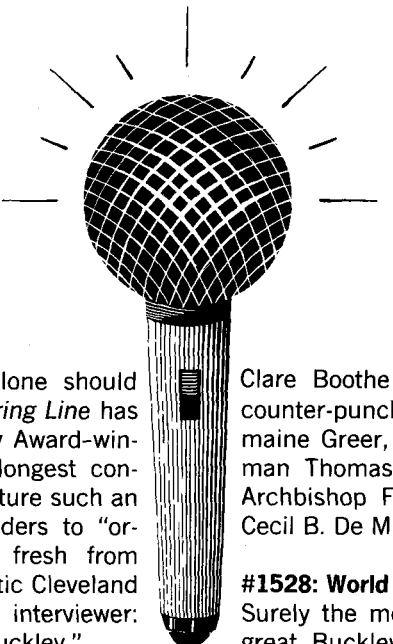
# 'We interrupt this magazine to bring you a special announcement . . .'



. . . and we'll keep it brief—the facts alone should convince you to act. Wm. F. Buckley Jr.'s *Firing Line* has celebrated its 20th Anniversary. This Emmy Award-winning "talk show" is not only one of the longest continuous TV programs but the *only* one to feature such an amazing variety of guests, from world leaders to "ordinary" Americans like a young Marine fresh from Vietnam (he's now Colonel Oliver North). Critic Cleveland Amory (in *TV Guide*) once voted: "Best interviewer: William Buckley. Best interviewee: William Buckley."

But you probably know all that. The news is that the *best* of *Firing Line* has been deftly packaged in four standard hour-long video-cassettes—and *you* can get them for yourself right now for just $39.95 each—or *all four* at the incredible bargain rate of just $99.95 (*including* postage and handling!). Just fill out and return the handy coupon below—you don't want to miss an opportunity like this one—supply is limited, so act now.

## Here are the programs you can choose from:

**#1531: Bill Buckley and Firing Line Get Roasted**
The complete video of the hilarious 20th Anniversary party; the tables are turned and Host Buckley is "roasted" by some famous guests—including Henry Kissinger, Eugene McCarthy, John Kenneth Galbraith, plus Critic Tom Wolfe, who had the whole Gala crowd rocking with laughter (especially Bill) in a room festooned with hot-air balloons inscribed with choice WFB words (psephology, sesquipedalian, the lot!).

**#1530: A Potpourri of Persuaders**
Many of Buckley's best shows have featured *other* "opinion-makers"—you'll view a wide spectrum of highlights with guests like Jeane Kirkpatrick, Alexander Haig, even the New York *Times*' archliberal Anthony Lewis on issues ranging from Watergate and Vietnam to feminism and abortion. It's a fascinating retrospective look at history in the making.

**#1529: Personalities**
Has anybody had so many famous guests on a single show? And here you get the prime moments: a witty Clare Boothe Luce, a mellow Malcolm Muggeridge, a counter-punching Muhammad Ali, a very tough Germaine Greer, a far-out Timothy Leary, a venerable Norman Thomas—not to mention Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Archbishop Fulton Sheen, Dame Rebecca West—it's a Cecil B. De Mille production.

**#1528: World Leaders**
Surely the most historic show of all: if you *missed* the great Buckley-Reagan Panama Canal Debate you can now see and hear the stunning final arguments for yourself. And Gerald Ford just days before he succeeded Richard Nixon (who *also* appears). Plus a feisty Margaret Thatcher, an urbane, witty Harold Macmillan, a smug Ferdinand Marcos, a droll Eugene McCarthy, and the surprisingly tough Robert Hawke (the Australian PM, who *deserves* to be better known)—it's all fine, dramatic "hindsight" history, with Host Buckley too in top form.

## Here's how you can order one or all of these memorable full-hour video-cassettes at bargain rates!

Just use this handy coupon now. Check which famous *Firing Line* show(s) you want, and mail it back to us with your payment of $39.95 for each cassette, or only $99.95 for all *four*—you can save over $60.00 with this offer—we pay all postage and handling (another considerable savings for you). Don't delay: offer expires when our supply is exhausted.

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# SOME FELL SLOW AND SOME FELL FAST

*Almost four years after the murder of Maurice Bishop and the American intervention in Grenada, the matter is not yet closed. Bishop's murderers, led by his Stalinist rival Bernard Coard, have finally been convicted. But appeals have been filed and it may be years before justice is done. Herewith an update from our man in Grenada.*

ON THE MORNING of October 19, 1983, Maurice Bishop, the self-proclaimed prime minister of Grenada, awoke manacled to his bed, dressed only in his underclothes. He had refused food for six days, fearing it might be poisoned by order of his former colleagues in the New Jewel government. He was weak and groggy and still a prisoner. But in a few hours he would, for the last time, play his favorite role, "We Leader," once again at the head of a mob willing, some of them, to die for him, though only because even at the hour of his death many in the crowd would not quite understand what he was.

A few days later, after his death and the American intervention, U.S. Marines captured a full log of all the last Central Committee meetings of New Jewel. Those documents would tell the full tale of how Bishop—who, unknown to many Grenadians, was a dedicated Communist—fell out of favor with his ideological brethren.

By mid 1983 the Grenadian revolution, which had taken power by force in 1979, was economically and politically bankrupt. Bishop, who had always tried to project a moderate image to the outside world, kept himself busy trying to seduce America or raise cash from Castro or other socialist friends. Meanwhile, his deputy, Bernard Coard, and Coard's Jamaican wife, Phyllis, were establishing control over the army and pushing a Stalinist line to whip the flagging revolution into shape. One member of the Coard faction, Ewart "Headache" Layne, went so far as to advocate "the Afghan solution"—direct Soviet intervention.

The power of the Coard faction in the Central Committee (CC) grew, as Bishop, apparently overwhelmed by the revolution's failure, became increasingly disengaged from events. With island life grinding to a standstill, the CC spent 55 hours in emergency sessions during the last week of its existence. Bishop attended one session and complained that attempts were being made to "marginalize" him. Coard, speaking of the Bishop faction, told his cronies, "Blow them up before they do it to us."

At a final meeting, Coard supporters called for Bishop to be court-martialed, whereupon George Louison, a Bishop ally, called for the Coardites to be court-martialed first. Everyone accused everyone else of "Right opportunism." One CC member, Chalkie Ventour, pulled a gun. Another, Fitzroy Bain, who was to die most slowly of all at the Fort, screamed, "We are going to end up with revolution without the people." Then he burst into tears. The meeting broke up in chaos, and Bishop was arrested.

On that morning of October 19, a crowd of thousands organized by supporters of the Bishop faction marched up the hill behind the capital to Bishop's house seeking to deliver him from his captors. Bishop, the original Teflon leader, had retained some of his personal popularity even as his government ruined the country. One loyal supporter carried a sign reading, "Free Maurice / No Coard / No Communism." The Coard faction's pretorian guard fired warning shots, but the crowd broke in and released the prime minister. Clad only in green underpants and muttering, "The masses, the masses," Bishop was lent a jersey and assisted into a vehicle.

His destination was Fort Rupert, perched on a precipice overlooking the harbor and much of the town of St. George's, Grenada's capital. There his men had tried for a last hurrah, appointing Louison head of a phantom army, distributing Kalashnikov rifles from the armory, and sending out an order for the arrest of Coard, Layne, and the rest. But from the heights of Richmond Hill, the prevailing CC brass had seen the liberating procession wind its way up to the Fort and moved to quell the rebellion. Three Soviet BTR-60P troop carriers were sent down. "If there was resistance," Headache Layne ordered, "then them was to battle it out and the leaders were to be liquidated."

A RED FLARE—for death—was sent up from Richmond Hill and the Coard troops moved in. Some of the crowd panicked and, in their effort to escape, jumped over the walls of the courtyard, falling onto the rocks below. There were two hundred casualties that day. Bishop and his chief allies were detained and lined up against a wall on which "Toward Higher Discipline in the PRA [People's Revolutionary Army]" had been scrawled beneath a basketball hoop.

"Is execution time," Goat Redhead, a Coard thug, gloated at them. Bishop and his government were told to face the wall and take off their shirts. Two machine guns were mounted on stands while the executioners put their M3s on "rock 'n' roll" (full automatic). Bishop's mistress, Jackie Creft, pleaded

*Mr. Wagner is an emeritus professor of English at the City University of New York. He divides his time between Grenada and New York City.*



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pregnancy. She received only obscenities and, from one of the gunners. Vincent Joseph, the comment, "Is bullet for you." The gunmen opened fire on the order of one Iman Abdullah, who had been Bishop's guard while he was under house arrest. "Some fell slow and some fell fast," he said later. Bishop fell first and was finished off on the ground. Jackie Creft was bludgeoned with gun butts. When it was over, the Fire Brigade hosed down the bloody court, Abdullah shouted, "Long live the revolution!" and Vincent Joseph repaired to the canteen for a Coke. Maurice Bishop had been marginalized.

After the U.S. intervention, the malefactors were rounded up and charged, most after making frank statements to Barbados police. Grenada had no police force at this time—the PRA had formerly assumed such powers. The accused at first numbered twenty, but one was discharged by the Magistrate of the Preliminary Inquiry in August 1984, while another turned Queen's evidence. For the first time in nearly five years there were no political prisoners on the Hill in Grenada. There were 18 people charged with murder and conspiracy to murder. "No one's up there for being a Communist," as an 82nd Airborne officer put it to me.

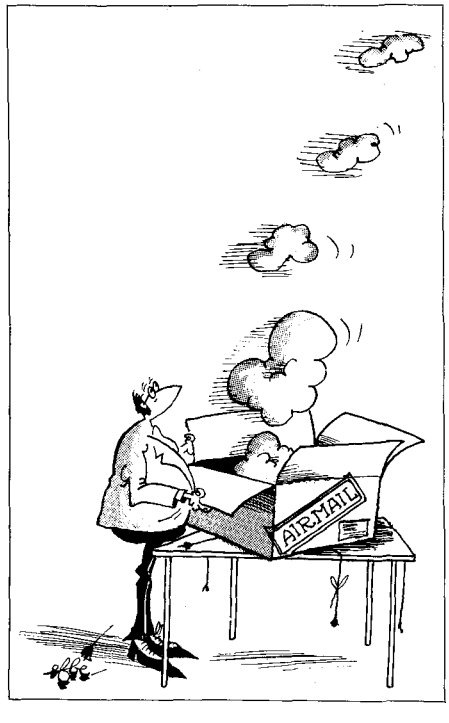
I saw these defendants brought to the St. George's courtroom early in 1984 for the first session of the Preliminary Inquiry, and there was no question that the crowd was ready to tear them limb from limb. Rocks were hurled at the Coards in particular. For their protection, the inquiry was moved to a room in the prison called the Lion's Den, to reach which, even with a pass, I had to percolate through six checkpoints. At the last checkpoint I had to surrender even my watch.

Phyllis Coard was brought in on a stretcher, allegedly weak from a hunger strike, though witnesses claimed she had watered her bowls of soup to make them look untouched. Goat Redhead suddenly developed a remarkable limp, which he attributed to police brutality. General Hudson Austin sported a plaster cast on an otherwise healthy arm. Coard himself, who had survived an attempt by other prisoners to dry-drown him with a hydrant, spent the time between repeated adjournments immersed in that aura of melodrama with which he likes to surround himself, studying the sacred texts and occasionally composing Brahmanical commentaries on just where the blasted revo had run off the rails.

It was not until April 1986 that a jury was finally selected, and the 18 accused could be brought to trial. For a long time after they were first arrested, they would not accept court-appointed counsel. They also refused to obtain their own. Then, through forensic ingenuity, the counsel they ended up with contrived a two-year delay. No doubt this exceeded the "reasonable time" between being charged and being tried that is called for in the country's constitution.

The legal procrastination rested on a challenge to the legitimacy of the trial itself. The point was this: By tearing up Grenada's 1973 constitution on his first day in office, Bishop had hoped to obviate any appeal to extraneous judiciaries within the Supreme Court of the Associated States of the West Indies, which might have compromised his own form of justice. The Coardites now argued that if the constitution were restored, as ipso facto it was, then their case should be heard by that wider West Indies court rather than the purely indigenous court they themselves had set up.

But there had been other changes. The Supreme Court of the West Indies had withdrawn from jurisdiction over Grenada after the annulment of the constitution and subsequent fiat rule by the cabinet (viz., the CC and Bishop). But Bishop had once again flubbed it. He had torn up the constitution but kept on the governor general, Sir Paul Scoon. It was important to retain the GG, not merely to trot him out on ceremonial occasions, but because with Sir Paul still in Government House, revolutionary Grenada did not have to seek recognition from foreign governments. The American Embassy in Barbados, when pestered by reporters as to whether the U.S. recognized the Bishop regime, retorted that the U.S. wasn't in the business of re-recognizing anyone. Having never been removed, the GG had every right, by virtue of the executive and legislative powers vested in him, both to reinstate the suspended constitution and to retain the Grenada High Court.




So the last of the by now Old Jewel were hoist by their own petard. Having fired all their own lawyers, the Coardites resorted to recalcitrance, turning the courtroom into a Mad Hatter's tea party. Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark apparently got into the act; there were numerous reports that in this final bizarre stage he was advising the defendants. Most mornings, it took prison guards half an hour to round up and transport the defendants to the court, where they chanted and jugged and shrieked, as at a revival meeting—"CIA spies!" "This a Yankee court!" "Torturers!" Justice Dennis Byron, son of a popular magistrate in St. Kitts, repeatedly had to clear the defendants from the dock, bringing them back individually for witness identification. At one point the judge contemplated gagging them. Coard demanded that President Reagan be called, and the foreman of the jury had a heart attack in court.

Finally, in December of last year, after Coard had been allowed to address the court for six days even though he refused to take the oath, the trial ended in a guilty verdict for 17 of the defendants, 14 of whom were sentenced to hang. One hardly has to add that for the local Grenadian cane-cutter or nutmeg-grower, the entire exercise looks like some sort of law-school frenzy, the luxury of a very permissive society indeed. The convictions and death sentences will be appealed, and it will be two or three more years before justice will "be seen to have been done." □



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# ABROAD

TASHKENT *Soviet Islam*

What effect will Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost* have on Moscow's Moslem subjects in Soviet Central Asia? The inhabitants of the Kazakh, Uzbek, Turkmen, and Kirghiz Republics are still colonial peoples, incorporated into Russia through conquest only at the turn of the century. They are directly comparable to Moslem populations that were colonized by the West in the same period but that have long since become free and independent nations. Moscow has taken pains to prevent any kind of uprising or guerrilla action that could paralyze or ultimately dismember its Central Asian possessions. Living standards have been subsidized in these regions for the last fifty years to avoid discontent, and have gone up at a faster rate than those in the Soviet Union itself, or even those in adjacent Moslem countries. The only place in the Soviet Union where anti-*glasnost* demonstrations have occurred is Kazakhstan, which says much as to how comfortably local Communist Party officials have settled in over the years. Nevertheless, by all historic logic, the Moslem territories must once more become a threat to the integrity of the Soviet state.

DAKAR *Dreaded Return*

The recrudescence of malaria in tropical regions of the Third World has overshadowed the return of another, equally devastating disease, sleeping sickness. This malady was brought under control in southern Africa, its principal range, by colonial scientists earlier in this century. But the drawing of national frontiers and other consequences of African independence, as well as toxic resistance bred in both virus and vector, have led to a comeback of sleeping sickness. According to the World Health Organization, 36 countries in sub-Saharan Africa are currently locales of contamination. There are twenty thousand new victims each year, and a potential victim pool of fifty million. And such figures are considered by tropical-disease experts to be grossly underestimated. For some countries, such as Guinea and Ghana, there are no figures whatever.

MADRID *Irreconciled*

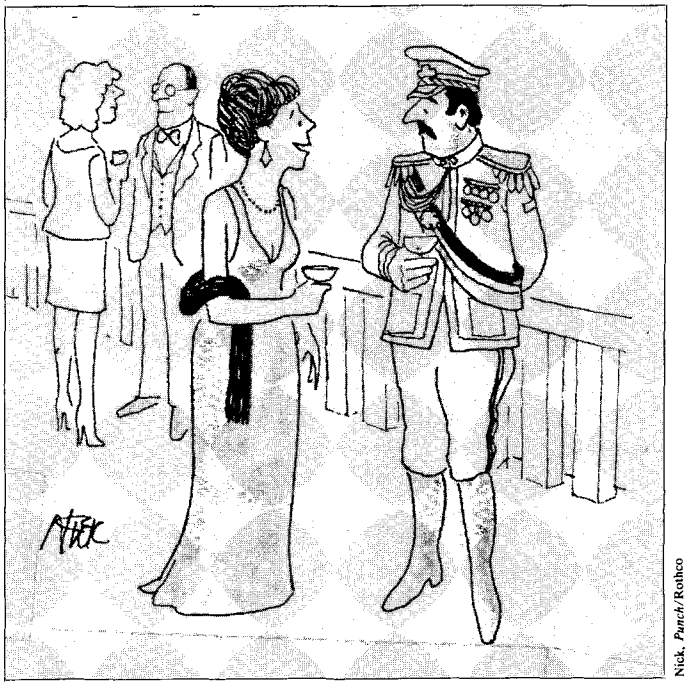
Ever since the institution of the democratic monarchy, in 1975, Madrid has sought to treat the Basque provinces in northeastern Spain as merely another center of agitation for regional autonomy, like Catalonia and Andalusia, and has given the Basques a parliament of their own, as well as other measures of home rule. But such concessions seem only to have fanned the flames of Basque nationalism. A wave of bombings and killings over the last two years attributed to the banned terrorist organization ETA and its political arm, Herri Batasuna, have greatly raised the stakes, and have complicated matters by involving French authorities in a series of squabbles and court cases. The Basques want not only autonomy and their own ancient language, but also insist on their own police force, something no modern centralized state could permit. The bombing of a local Socialist Party headquarters has triggered one more confrontation with the Socialist government in Madrid, raising the possibility that Herri Batasuna will be proscribed, which would in effect place all Basque militance beyond the pale.

NAPLES *Poison through the Roof*

For five centuries, Naples has been subjected to the heaviest concentration of people in Europe, and pollution levels have finally gone through the roof. Every day 700,000 automobiles participate in the world's slowest traffic mass, moving at an average of less than two miles an hour, jammed together in an area of central Naples eight miles square. These conditions, along with pollution from oil refineries, steel mills, domestic heating, and other sources, have pushed levels of nitrogen, carbon dioxide, and lead well above legal and practical limits of tolerance. The famous climate of Naples itself has become a myth. From a curving bay lined with refineries rises a cloud of hydrocarbons that, combined with solar radiation, has created smog conditions of indispersable proportions.

PARIS *A Toast to Eiffel*

This year Paris celebrates the centenary of the Eiffel Tower. This extraordinary structure, the creation of engineer Gustave Eiffel (whose work was central also to the Statue of Liberty), was begun in 1887 for the 1889 Paris Exposition and immediately drew withering criticism. A group of eminent artists and writers including Maupassant, Dumas *fils*, Gounod, Garnier, Meissonier, and Bouguereau announced they were "protesting with all our strength and our indignation, . . . in the name of threatened art and history, against the erection in the heart of our capital of the useless and monstrous Eiffel Tower." And then there was the crusty old gentleman who hated the Eiffel Tower so much he dined every night at the restaurant installed on its first level, seventy yards above the street, because it was the only place in Paris from which the despised structure could not be seen.



Nick, *Punch*/Rothco

*"How fascinating! Say something unilateral."*



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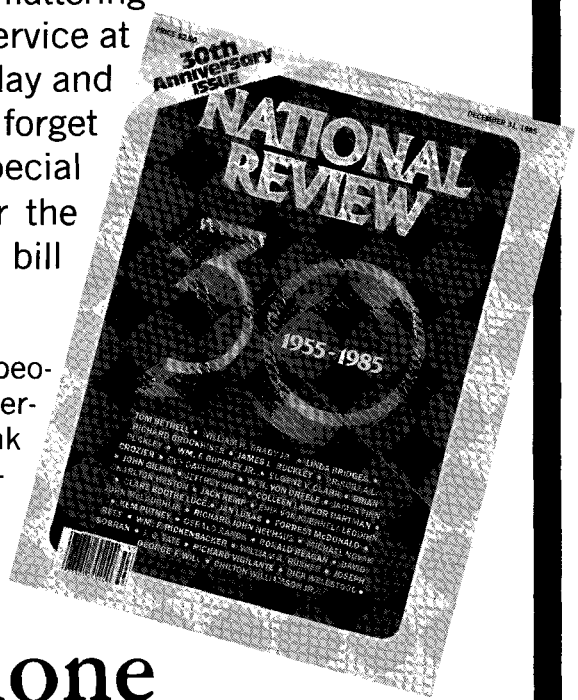


NR makes an ideal gift for hard-to-please people—it's a year-long reminder of your interest (not to mention an indication that you think they are interesting people too). Again, don't forget the young people you care about: conservative ideas are back in style on the campus, so NR should be doubly welcome now.

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# REAGAN'S NO SUICIDE

At Reykjavik last October President Reagan calmly agreed with Secretary Gorbachev that the goal of a nuclear-free world (Reagan was obviously thinking of one protected by a Space Shield) was indeed a noble vision. Whereupon our NATO allies suddenly began worrying that Mr. Reagan meant to deprive them of the protection of nuclear weapons.

Ever since Reykjavik, America's liberals have also been wondering how to react. Unwilling to support the Space Shield (because it was Reagan's idea), they have finally endorsed a nuclear defense of Europe, and even accuse the President of recklessness for contemplating anything else.

I doubt, though, that they ever anticipated the parallel reaction of the Right, including NATIONAL REVIEW. Mr. Reagan has simply been abandoned—lock, stock, and barrel—by huge sectors of conservative opinion, on the wholly gratuitous assumption that he has lost his mind and intends to leave Europe defenseless. Never mind his rock-hard determination not to negotiate with the Russians at all until he had rebuilt the defenses of the United States. Never mind that he has not hesitated to identify the Soviet Union, publicly, as "the focus of evil in the modern world." Never mind that it was he who insisted on the deployment of the very Pershing II and cruise missiles that are now under discussion. Never mind that it was his proposal of a Space Shield that radically transformed the strategic situation and dragged the Russians back to the bargaining table. "It is simply impossible," the May 22 issue of this magazine declared editorially, "any longer to count on the Reagan Administration one way or another."

Indeed. And how did we arrive at this ghastly pass? In virtue of some agreement reached between Messrs. Reagan and Gorbachev? No; there has been none. Because of some ill-advised public statement made unilaterally by Mr. Reagan? No; he hasn't made any. These ominous vapors have descended upon us simply because the usual rumor mills assure us that in Moscow Secretary Shultz went far toward agreeing with the Russians to eliminate, allegedly without preconditions, all short- and medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe.

Under this "forthcoming agreement," NATIONAL REVIEW complains, "Western Europe would still face an enormous conventional disadvantage—a Warsaw Pact tank force three times the size of NATO's." One would suppose Mr. Reagan might have thought of that.

But just how real is this "suicide pact" anyway? The very authorities NATIONAL REVIEW summons to the support of its position reveal deep uncertainties as to precisely what it is they are criticizing. Jack Kemp, noting that "the details are all blurry" and "many uncertainties remain," wisely confines himself to asking questions. Messrs. Nixon and Kissinger, for some unstated reason, have "little doubt" that "an arms-control agreement will be signed" this year, and warn that "it would be a profound mistake to conclude the agreement in its present form."

But what, exactly, is its "present form"? Before answering that question too confidently, note the commendable caution with which John Roche approaches it: "*At the moment all the auguries indicate* that the President is prepared to initial a treaty with Gorbachev that would leave Western Europe naked in the face of Soviet and Warsaw Pact force, with the exception of the French and British deterrents" (emphasis supplied).

Forgive me, but what "auguries" are we talking about? Has anybody bothered to ask the President if that is in fact his intention? And if nobody has, why haven't they?

Nevertheless, the general thrust of the indictment is clear: Ronald Reagan is on the verge of throwing away the only conceivable effective defense of Europe. And his most prominent and severest critics in this regard are, interestingly enough, Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger.

What is there about this pair that so many conservatives find so irresistible? Neither of them even claims to be a member of the conservative movement. And, with all due respect, their own foreign-policy record, in the days, not so long ago, when U.S. policy was theirs to shape, hardly inspires the confidence that Mr. Reagan's does.

From SALT I and the ABM Treaty to the disastrous concept of "linkage," their policies paved the way for the enormous strides Soviet power made in the decade of the 1970s. No one is happier than I am to find them on the side of the skeptics and the Cassandras today, but I see no reason to believe that their perceptions are keener, or their resolution firmer, than Ronald Reagan's.

In 1980 Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn identified what he called "the Kissinger syndrome":

> Such individuals, while holding high office, pursue a policy of appeasement and capitulation, which sooner or later will cost the West many years and many lives, but immediately upon retirement the scales fall from their eyes and they begin to advocate firmness and resolution.

If Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger want to change their minds, well and good. But I, at least, am not going to assume, on the thin evidence in our May 22 issue, that the finest American President of the twentieth century is about to give away the store. NATIONAL REVIEW's editorial was wildly premature and affirmatively damaging to a man who, as of this date, deserves only our gratitude. □



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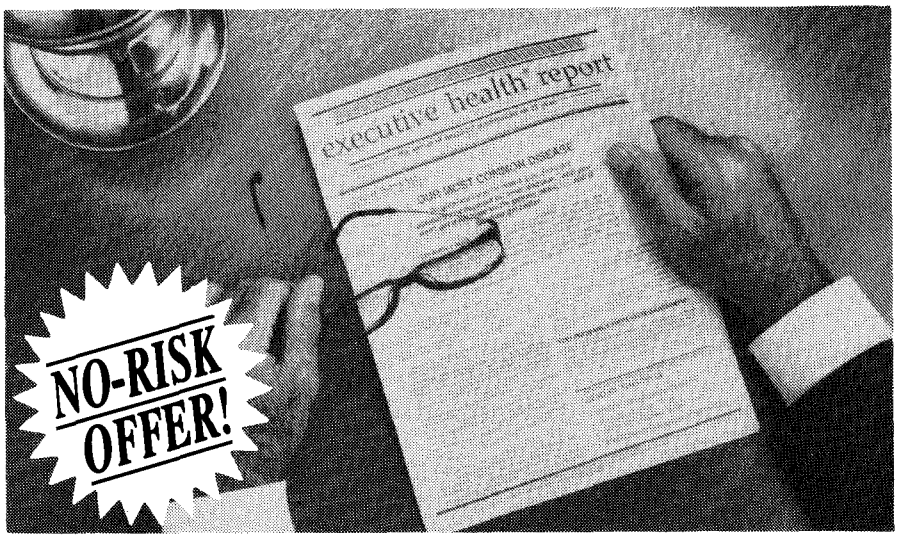


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# SHOAH: ENOUGH ALREADY?

I WAS NOT prepared for the intensity of the response. At the church where I serve I suggested that folks might want to watch *Shoah*, the long-ish film on the Holocaust being televised that week. One layman summed up the general response: "Come on, Pastor, enough already." Enough what? Enough morbid dwelling on the unspeakable. That was one answer. Another parishioner explained that she would not watch a nine-hour film on the Gulag Archipelago either, or on the Pol Pot genocide in Cambodia. Especially if—as she said was the case with the Holocaust—"I've seen it a thousand times before." A third party answered more bluntly: "Enough of their trying to rub our noses in it."

Ah, so it comes down to "them" and "us" after all. It would be easy enough to condemn such attitudes as anti-Semitic and wish for the power to sentence those who think that way to expiate their sins by watching the entirety of *Shoah* for nine days running. It would be easy, as it would also be simplistic and unjust. The truth is that the healthy human psyche has a limited capacity for the unrelieved contemplation of the horrible. A further truth is that many Christians have been put on guard by polemical abuses of the Holocaust story. The healthy human psyche has an even more limited capacity for being lacerated by untruths and half-truths.

The Orthodox Rabbi Eliezer Berkovits has written that "the extermination of six million Jews was carried out in cold blood in the very heart of Christian Europe and encouraged by the criminal silence of virtually all Christendom." His infamous conclusion: "What was started at the Council of Nicea was duly completed in the concentration camps and crematoria." In other words, Auschwitz is the logical consequence of Christian orthodoxy. Many Jews join Christians in repudiating such slanderous claims. There are Christians, however, whose capacity for self-defamation seems unlimited. In *Faith and Fratricide*, the Catholic liberationist Rosemary Ruether asked rhetorically, "Is it possible to say that 'Jesus is Christ' without saying at the same time 'and the Jews be damned!'?" Mrs. Ruether thought it was at least highly improbable and, as though to prove her point, has in later years turned into a fierce opponent of the state of Israel.

GROWING CHRISTIAN resistance to dishonestly polemical uses of the Holocaust has not escaped the attention of thoughtful Jewish leaders. They also have their own concerns about the trivialization of the Holocaust when the story is turned to partisan purposes. For instance, some Jews have thoughtlessly compared the Religious Right in America to the Nazis, as though Hitler were a Christian fundamentalist in a hurry and unrestrained by the U.S. Bill of Rights.

Such obscene distortions were addressed at a recent meeting with evangelical and fundamentalist leaders convened by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in New York City. The ADL has just issued an important study showing that, contrary to conventional wisdom, anti-Semitism is hardly discernible among "conservative Christians." The research distinguishes between religious ("Jews are punished because they killed Jesus") and secular ("Jews are tight with their money") anti-Semitism.

According to the study, religious anti-Semitism is virtually non-existent, and, surprisingly, some "negative secular caricatures" of Jews are viewed by respondents as positive traits. Thus many Christians think it a fine thing if Jews are tight with their money and also approve of their allegedly being more loyal to Israel than to the United States. The last point raises intriguing questions about the state of patriotism among these Christians, but that is another matter.

The ADL study is almost unqualifiedly good news, and evangelicals are grateful to the ADL for helping to expose yet another widely peddled lie about their community. And yet some evangelicals are uneasy that it is the Jewish community giving grades, even if good grades, to conservative Christians. It seems to them a little one-sided. As one fundamentalist remarked, "Now maybe we should do a study of levels of anti-Christianism among Jews." Certainly the ADL would have no objection to that. In fact, the ADL study takes the initiative in addressing that question, since the chief source of "anti-Christianism" among Jews is the fear of Christian anti-Semitism.

There have in the past been other meetings about anti-Semitism among conservative Christians. In those meetings there was much discussion about what "they"—the conservative Christians—thought, but there was no they there. Now Jews and evangelicals have begun to engage each other in an exploration, the end of which neither can foresee. The hard questions, too often evaded in the past, are not about intergroup good feelings. The hard questions are about how Christians and Jews understand each other's role within God's purposes in history. In this exploration, disagreements are as important as agreements, and each community must pose to the other the awkward questions that put civility to the test. Among these is the question of why many Christians, when faced with yet another depiction of the Holocaust, say, "Enough already." Of such candid exchange between religiously committed Christians and Jews we have not had enough. In fact, we have had almost none at all. But now, thanks in large part to the work of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, that exchange has begun. □



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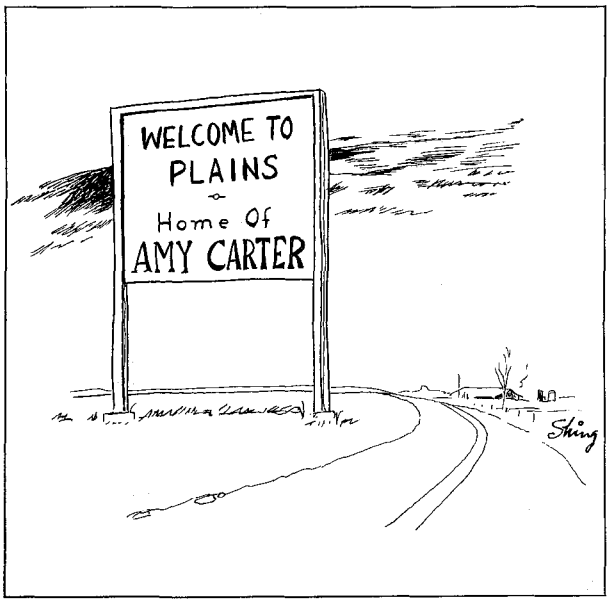
# hello !!!!

## Daughter of Jimmy

When those unforgiving eyes
Checked the jury out for size
All that cruel April day,
I feared for the CIA.

W. H. von Dreele



*"Now is the time to show your courage and leadership, Your Majesty. This* isn't *the time to decide you don't want to be king any more."*



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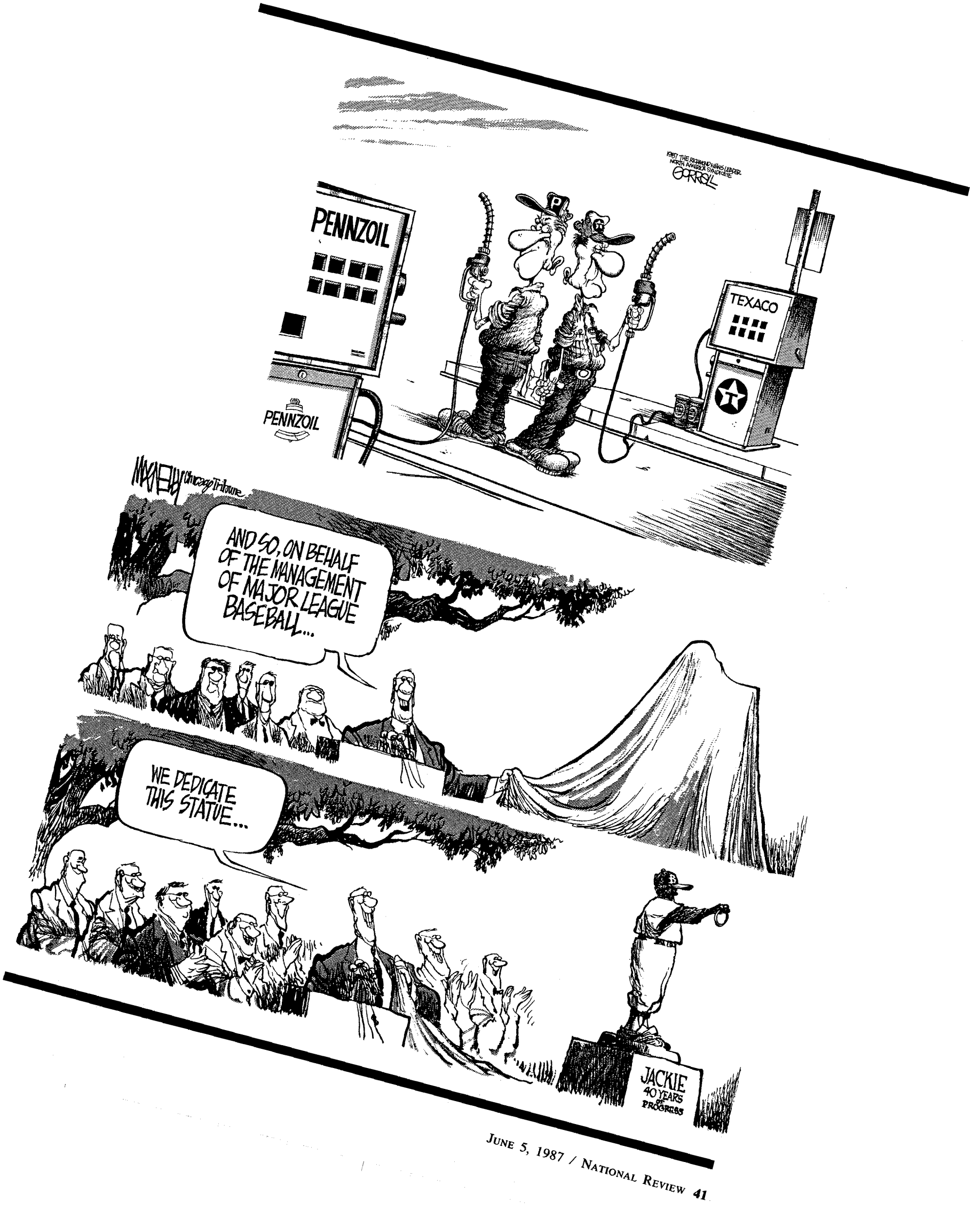




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# THE BIG C

## Joseph Sobran

*Behind the Front Page, by David Broder (Simon & Schuster, 393 pp., $18.95)*

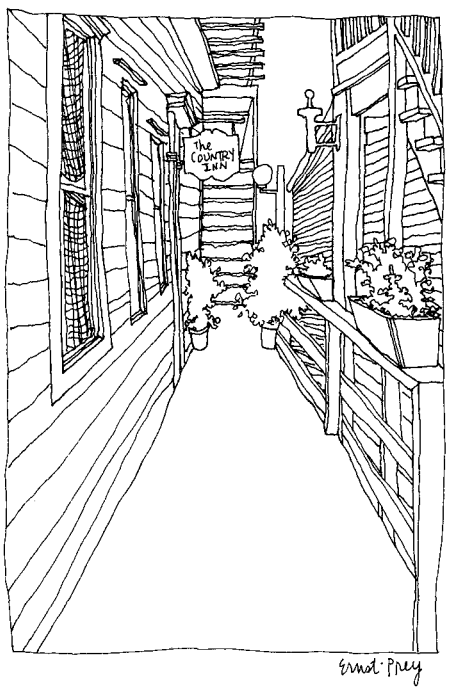
DAVID BRODER of the *Washington Post* needs no introduction, or if he does, this book isn't the way to go about it. It treads a thin line dividing self-criticism from self-congratulation.

Every few paragraphs there is a hushed reference to "credibility." "We must work to establish credibility." "More ombudsmen with Harwood's and Seib's bite on more papers would help solve the credibility problem." The basic idea is that the press depends on credibility but that some of its sins and excesses and self-compromises have injured its credibility, thus creating the aforementioned credibility problem. What's needed is a bit more credibility, or at any rate a restoration of former credibility. You get the basic idea. Credibility.

I doubt if St. Ignatius Loyola took his mission any more seriously than Broder takes his. *Behind the Front Page: A Candid Look at How the News Is Made* includes *fioretti* about Mr. Broder resisting temptation, in the form now of Henry Kissinger, now of a lifelong pal, at the hands of those who would have him betray his credibility by sacrificing the public's right to know to some lesser value, such as access, or love. "As journalists, our responsibility is to the reader."

The title intimates a little inside dope, but it never comes. True, there are anecdotes of Presidents and Kissingers I Have Known, but they all sound like retreads: Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Reagan have all been manipulators in their various ways, tempting the journalist to compromise his youknowwhat. And Broder rehearses such overly familiar press cases as the Janet Cooke affair, the Greider-Stockman affair, the George Will-briefing-book affair, and the Jackson-Coleman-"Hymie" affair. The lesson is always the same.

From McCarthy to Vietnam to Watergate to the Iran-Contra thing, Broder takes the standard lib line. Not that he's very far left, just utterly, utterly, utterly conventional in his outlook. No spark of the maverick here, no touch of the poet or rebel or imp. He never explains, or thinks to explain, why the bloody hell it matters whether total strangers can place implicit faith in ink marks on a piece of cheap paper they'll wrap potato peels in tomorrow. Why should they? What good would it do if they could? And in the meantime?




In the meantime there's Janet Cooke, and how Broder wrings his hands over that one! What went wrong? he agonizes, six years later. We didn't live up to our standards, that's what! he answers. And we forfeited a chunk of our credibility!

Of course Janet Cooke we have always with us, in one form or another, and it's good that she gets caught sometimes. Broder seems to think she was *sui generis*, though. He says solemnly that the idea that there's ideological bias in the press is "laughable." But the whole point of the Janet Cooke episode is that she was peddling liberal fantasies to an eager market: an eight-year-old black heroin addict! The *Post* ran this absurd story without checking it, and the Pulitzer committee validated it when the cops and the city administration challenged it. If she had invented a welfare queen wearing mink, say, her superiors would have frisked every detail.

Welfare queens—isn't that Ronald Reagan's department? Reagan is accused, in the *Post*, of inventing anecdotes to fortify his world view. But he is frankly retailing rumors, even botched rumors: He doesn't purport to give first-hand facts. The *Post* gets the facts it seeks, documented anecdotes. And if there are real welfare

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*P. E. Hodgson is head of the Theoretical Nuclear Physics Group at the Nuclear Physics Laboratory, University of Oxford, and directs a program of research in nuclear reactions and nuclear structure. He has a longstanding interest in the relation of science and theology and currently edits* Science and Religion Forum Reviews.

*Kevin Lynch, formerly* NR*'s Article Editor, now works in Washington, D.C.*

*Bob Mack is an editorial assistant at* NR. *His writing has also appeared in* The Village Voice *and* Chicago Reader.

*Joe Mysak is Assistant Managing Editor of* The Bond Buyer *in New York City.*



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queens striking it rich, you won't read about them there.

But Broder sees no connection between his paper's ideology and its most egregious embarrassment. He even questions the Lichter-Rothman poll's accuracy because he knows of no *Post* personnel who participated. As if that would have shifted the results rightward!

Yet he admits—brags, rather—that the *Post* has always been committed to "civil liberties, civil rights, social legislation, and political reform." He adds that the press in general shares a "reformist progressivism," which, however, he seems not to regard as an ideological bias, since reporters, as he has always known them, prefer gossip to discussions of ideology or policy. He seems not to understand that a philosophy is no less a philosophy for being unreflective, and that a man is defined as much by what he assumes as by what he asserts. To put the whole race issue under the heading of "civil rights" is to beg a lot of questions.

Even so, a bad theorist can be a good practitioner. To say that Broder can't criticize the system he belongs to is not to say he can't function well within it: He's a good reporter. Too many ideas and commitments might put him at odds with the system and impede his doing what he does. He's a fine establishment reporter, but like all of the breed, he wants to think of himself as a critic of the establishment —a very different thing.

But the book disappoints at another level: It's colorless, bloodless. Broder is well connected, all right, but he seldom has the memory, the little story, the whiff of time and place that adds to what you already knew. He doesn't show you the public men from the new and intimate angles you'd expect the old pro to be hoarding. He has no grudges, no humor, just a fussy concern with a trifling sort of integrity. Trifling, that is, in a worldly sense: In the sight of heaven it's praiseworthy. But what difference would it have made to all those readers out there if Broder had lied through his teeth in every story he ever wrote?

The man is a walking consensus. He has all the standard opinions and attitudes, notably including self-importance, of the media today. Not that he's a pompous man, except within that role. On the contrary, he's a mild-mannered Clark Kent. Until you notice him fingering his shirt buttons, you don't suspect otherwise. And if it weren't for the mystique of journalism, he might be a civilized man. □

# STAYING COMPETITIVE

## Dan Dickinson

*The Frontiers of Management, by Peter F. Drucker (Dutton, 368 pp., $19.95)*

ALL OF A sudden, the issue of the day is *competitiveness*. Newspapers are awash with exposés of industries in collapse, business groups are pushing a value-added tax, and calls can be heard from potential Democratic presidential contenders for protectionism, tougher trade legislation, federal job-training programs, and subsidies


**The Scene: A college campus, a party in full swing.**
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**The Lyrics: Aristotle's *Categories*, Chapter I.**

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## RANDOM NOTES

☐ More May Titles: *In Pursuit of Reason: The Life of Thomas Jefferson* (Louisiana State University, $24.95), by Noble E. Cunningham Jr., is a work for both the professional and the lay reader, lauding Jefferson's underlying belief in "the sufficiency of reason for the care of human affairs."

*The Sherwood Anderson Diaries, 1936-1941* (University of Georgia, $30), edited by Hilbert H. Campbell, are "desk diaries" jotted down in the last years of the novelist's life. They are of even less interest, if that is possible, than most of Anderson's novels themselves.

*Moscow 2042* (Harcourt Brace, $16.95), by Vladimir Voinovich, translated by Richard Lourie, is political slapstick based on a futuristic scenario, seeming to lack the reality of the novelist's previous works.

☐ Coming in June: *The Age of Terrorism* (Little, Brown, $19.95), by Walter Laqueur, is an updated edition of the author's *Terrorism*, published in 1977. Here Laqueur essentially downplays the significance of terroristic acts, arguing that they are neither new, nor a "natural" response to "oppression," nor primarily of Middle Eastern origin, nor the cause of major political upheavals of any sort, nor of great damage. Instead, he argues, terrorism is essentially a sideshow, affecting few people; its importance is vastly overinflated by the media, and it is dangerous principally for the risk it poses of touching off a major war.

In *Remaking Japan: The American Occupation as New Deal* (Free Press, $27.50), by Theodore Cohen and edited by Herbert Passin, Douglas MacArthur's former labor-relations chief (now deceased) during the postwar occupation describes how the general carried out, on orders from Washington, the policies that led to the reforging of Japan as a great economic power.

*Country Lawyer: And Other Stories for the Screen* (University Press of Mississippi, $12.95), by William Faulkner, edited by Louis Daniel Brodsky and Robert W. Hamblin, consists of three story outlines commissioned by Warner Brothers in the 1940s for later reworking into screenplays. Admirers of the great novelist may be interested.

—CW

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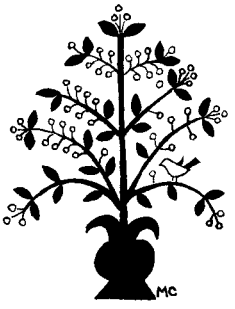
for high-tech industries. All of this, we are assured, will help restore America's industrial vigor.

Even the Administration has discovered the competitiveness crisis. In his State of the Union address, President Reagan called for a national quest for excellence (i.e., small-scale federal subsidies) to restore economic leadership.

Are our industries having trouble competing in the world market? And, if they are, will protectionism, subsidies, a VAT, et al. help? In *The Frontiers of Management*, an outstanding and thought-provoking book, business guru and self-described "old conservative" Peter Drucker weighs in with some answers: The competitiveness crisis is real enough, he says; and most of the ideas to make things better will only make them worse.



According to Drucker, the world economy is being shaken by three major changes. First, the primary-products economy (farming, mining) has become "uncoupled" from the industrial economy. As a result, commodity prices are plummeting, and inflation may be a thing of the past. Second, production has become uncoupled from employment. Thus, the number of blue-collar jobs will continue to decline even as manufacturing production grows. "It's not the American economy that's being deindustrialized," says Drucker. "It's the American work force." Finally, capital rather than production is driving the economy. As a result, nations will either integrate themselves into the world economy, or suffer the consequences.

Because of these trends, many of the proposals to "make America competitive" will, Drucker contends, have the opposite effect. Programs to prop up basic industries do not impress him. "A country that puts the preservation of blue-collar jobs ahead of being competitive . . . will soon have neither production nor jobs." Nor does he share the Gary Hart fixation on federal support for advanced technology. "High-tech has provided only five million new jobs," he points out, while the other 35 million created over the decade have been provided by "middle-tech, low-tech, and no-tech entrepreneurs." So why single out high-tech for help? Protectionism, Drucker believes, would be a disaster, as 20 per cent of current U.S. manufacturing employment is dependent on export industries.

Drucker is particularly trenchant when detailing how the government has exacerbated these problems, from Nixon's currency manipulations, to Carter's inflationary policies, to the neo-Keynesian fiscal gyrations of the early Reagan years. He's especially critical of high deficits, which he regards as "the root of America's problem." Nor has our government been alone in mucking up its national economy. Drucker shows how Europe hurt itself by pursuing "high-tech" development, while he believes Japan may have sown the seeds of its own destruction through committing large resources to such basic industries as steel, where it can have no long-term comparative advantage.

Is there anything that can be done to restore competitiveness?

First, Washington could balance the budget, a prospect Drucker regards as highly unlikely: "Alcoholics only reform when they're in the gutter," he says. Failing that, government should at least get out of the way: "Benevolent neglect . . . may be the best policy we can hope for."

Improvements in education would also help. Drucker argues convincingly that the German program of apprenticeship/education, through which high-school students both attend classes and work on jobs, could do much to upgrade skills.

Beyond these things, Drucker suggests, the battle for a competitive America will be won or lost by individual managers and employees in workplaces across the country.

As befits the title of his book, Drucker spends much of his time analyzing how managements are responding to change, and he doesn't like a lot of what he sees. He's sharply critical of high executive salaries that are not matched by productivity gains, assails the wave of corporate takeovers, which he sees as cannibalistic, and is especially sharp on the newest corporate fad: MBS, "management by best-seller," i.e., such books as Naisbitt's *Reinventing the Corporation*. "I am not against pornographic sex," he said recently, "but I am opposed to pornographic business books."

"Face it," he tells his management audience, "we got very, very lax." If we're going to stay number one, executives have to see management "as a function and a responsibility, rather than as a rank and a privilege."



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Perhaps our nation's ability to succeed in the world economy would be enhanced if we started seeing what it means to be an American in the same light. □

# MISSION OF MERCY

## Kevin Lynch

*Mustard Seeds: A Conservative Becomes a Catholic, by L. Brent Bozell (Trinity Communications, 360 pp., $22.95 hardcover; $12.95 paper)*

*The kingdom of God is like a grain of mustard seed which, when sown upon the earth, is the smallest of all the seeds upon the earth; yet when it is sown, it grows up and becomes larger than any herb, and puts out great branches, so that the birds of the air can dwell beneath its shade.*

LONGTIME READERS of NATIONAL REVIEW will remember Brent Bozell—one of the magazine's senior editors in the early days, alongside such legendary figures as Frank Meyer, James Burnham, Willmoore Kendall, and Whittaker Chambers. But Bozell, unlike the others, never made it into the conservative Hall of Fame. More than twenty years ago, he decided to play in a different league. *Mustard Seeds* explains where he was all those years.

In the book's opening chapter, written in 1986, Bozell looks back to the Sixties. Anybody in his position could be excused a little self-congratulation: During that period, in addition to his role at *NR*, he wrote a telling critique of judicial supremacy (*The Warren Revolution*) and played a pivotal part in the campaign to nominate Barry Goldwater (he ghost-wrote a book every conservative over forty can find somewhere on his bookshelf: *The Conscience of a Conservative*). But the Bozell of today is close to dismissive about his accomplishments back then. "What I had done . . . was to contribute certain writings, talks, agitations, and political campaigns to the cause of secular conservatism, a cause that I then imagined had a close connection with Catholicism. I began to see difficulties with this supposed connection while living in Spain in the early Sixties . . ."

It was in Spain that Bozell wrote a piece for NATIONAL REVIEW called "Freedom or Virtue?" This article, which is included in *Mustard Seeds*, is a vigorous defense of traditional conservatism against libertarianism, with its belief that freedom is the first principle of politics, virtue a distant second. Bozell believes libertarians have it exactly backward.

Freedom, instead of being the highest political good, can take man on the path to disaster. That, he writes, is why man needs all the help he can get, in the form of supernatural grace as well as the natural grace that "springs forth from man's constructs: his institutions, his customs, his laws—the ones that have been inspired by his better angel and that remain in time to give nourishment to all the human race."

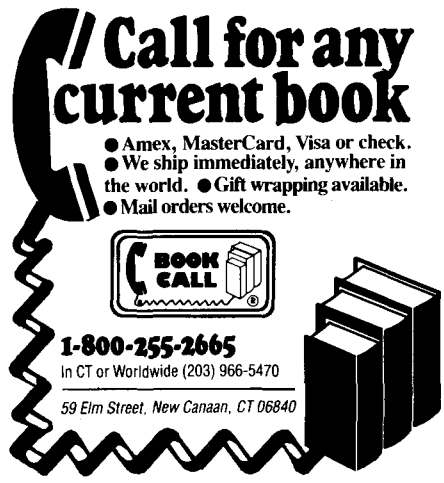
"Freedom or Virtue?" may have been written to defend traditionalist conservatism against the libertarian insurgency, but the article had another effect. It prompted Bozell to doubt whether any variety of secular conservatism could bring about what he was striving to encourage: a second Christian epoch. Not too long after, the lapsed conservative parted company with his colleagues at NATIONAL REVIEW; in 1966, at the age of forty, he founded a small "traditionalist Catholic" magazine called *Triumph*.

Though he had converted to Catholicism twenty years earlier, Bozell believes that he didn't become a Catholic in a real sense, didn't begin to "do something with my life," until *Triumph*. By most standards, certainly those of the marketplace, the magazine never lived up to its name. It lasted not quite ten years—its final issue appeared in January 1976—and for most of its existence never had more than twenty thousand subscribers.

But after reading *Mustard Seeds*, more than half of which consists of Bozell pieces that appeared first in *Triumph*, it seems to me indeed a triumph—if not a miracle—that a magazine so defiantly out of step with its times survived as long as it did.

Virtually everything Bozell wrote for the magazine is included in *Mustard Seeds*. This section begins with an editorial, written in December 1966, praising Pope Paul VI for gently but firmly restating the Church's opposition to contraception:

> The world deems the Church mad to have hitched its whole moral authority to this wretched piece of intransigence. Millions of Catholics and near Catholics and apostate Catholics over the years have felt the same way: If only the Church would give ground on this one, the rest would be easy to take. But this wretched piece of intransigence is the key to the mighty mystery of sex, which unlocks the door to the even more awesome mystery of life, which in turns reveals the reality of the supernatural. If the Church does not own this key, it does not own any keys at all.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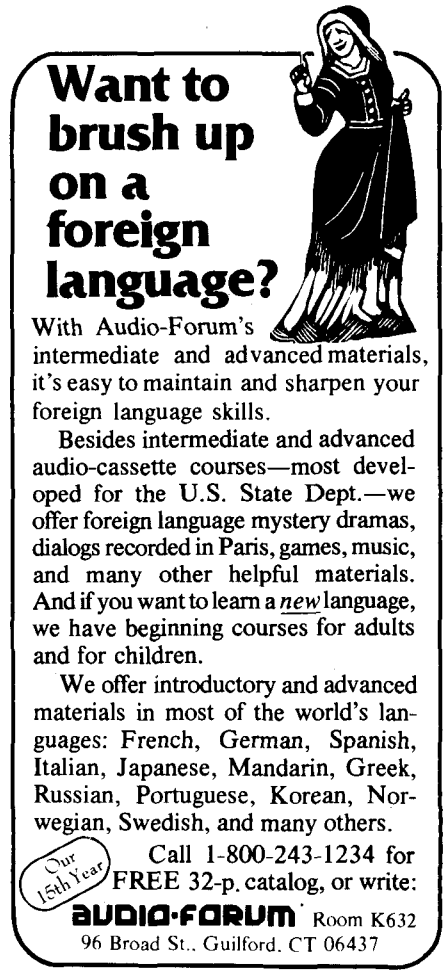
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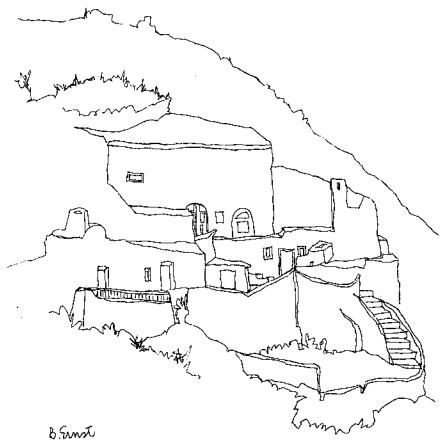
Even with the benefit of twenty years' hindsight, the pro-life position could not be stated more luminously. Whether he was writing about contraception, Vietnam, the Constitution, or the abortion movement, the editor of *Triumph* always got to the heart of the matter.

The disillusionment that began with "Freedom or Virtue?" was now complete. Bozell had no faith in the American way—be it liberal or conservative—because, he believed, there was no place for Christ in the American way. And while there is no prohibition against the private practice of religion in this country, faith must have a visible expression if it is to survive. "Even the man who can still cling to God in some interior fashion will admit that he does so not in joy but in anguish, in struggle against a world that conspires at every turn to dry up his spiritual juices."

Any reader of the more than thirty essays from *Triumph* collected in this section will see that Bozell, if he were so inclined, would have a great deal to boast about. But in January 1976, the magazine's high-wire act came to an end, thanks to the usual culprits: a lack of money, and internal troubles (for which Bozell blames largely himself). A few months later, Bozell plunged into a private torment that lasted until the mid Eighties.

He is, he now knows, a manic-depressive, but the disease never fully manifested itself until *Triumph* had ceased publishing. Now that he is recovered—and *Mustard Seeds* is testimony to that—Bozell has no doubt that the disease was God-given. What it taught him about was mercy, and he elaborates beautifully on this theme in the final two sections of the book.

Here the tone is far more personal than before. The erudite polemicist of



the *Triumph* days is now writing straight from the heart. His guides usually have some connection with Poland, one of his "treasure places": a John Paul II encyclical stressing the importance of mercy in Church doctrine; the writings of Sister Faustina, a Polish nun, whose Divinely inspired mission was to remind the modern world about the depths of God's mercy; and the men and women of Poland who, under the protection of Our Lady of Czestochowa, built Solidarity on a foundation of mercy.

Though the magazine Bozell founded has been defunct for more than ten years, its influence has been inestimable. Not too long ago, a Catholic intellectual told me that if a Roman Catholic renewal ever takes place in the United States, scholars will trace its beginnings back to one source: *Triumph*. To this day, whenever two or more orthodox Catholics are gathered together, the discussion inevitably turns to the possibility of starting "another *Triumph*."

As for Bozell, he continues to sow mustard seeds. He recently founded an organization called *Misión Guadalupe*, in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Its immediate goal is to minister to Hispanic Catholics in the United States; but its ultimate goal is "nothing less than the conversion of the United States." In a very real sense, today's Bozell is indistinguishable from yesterday's, the one who wrote for *Triumph* and for NATIONAL REVIEW.

But there has been one enormous change. Once his writings brimmed with fierce indignation. Now the anger is gone, driven away by pain and suffering. In its place is the message of mercy.

Trinity Communications, a mustard seed of a publisher located in northern Virginia (P.O. Box 3610, Manassas, Va. 22110), has performed a truly wonderful service. It has given us the writings of a man who has never had more to say. □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# SAFEGUARDING SANITY

## P. E. Hodgson

*Chesterton: A Seer of Science, by Stanley L. Jaki (University of Illinois, 176 pp., $12.50)*

MOST PEOPLE are aware of Chesterton as a master of English prose, a coiner of startling paradoxes, a writer of ingenious detective stories. It may come as a surprise to see his name associated with science. But although he had no scientific training, he had an astonishing insight into the nature and limits of science. Again and again he identified the central issues in the debates of his times and expressed his accurate diagnoses in trenchant and memorable language. It was an excellent idea to study his writings in this perspective, as Professor Jaki has done here, and to show the magnitude of his contributions to some of the fundamental issues raised by the development of modern science.

At the time when Chesterton wrote, and indeed for long afterward, many spokesmen for science such as Herbert Spencer and H. G. Wells propagated what amounted to a secular religion, often called scientism, in which all the problems of man would henceforward be solved by the application of scientific method. Chesterton challenged them by showing that they went far beyond the scientific evidence: "They say that Science says this or that; when they only mean scientists, and they do not care which scientists." Indeed, "they simply affirm all the notions that happen to be fashionable in loose intellectual clubs."

Chesterton tackled the basic issue of the status of scientific knowledge. He was clear that scientific laws have no ontological status; this is essential for the freedom of man, because, if nature is a wholly determined system and man is no more than a part of it, then man is a machine. But once the laws are seen as a product of the Divine will, there is a place for the ex-



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pression of free human will. God has indeed created things that behave in a consistent way; that is what makes science possible. But matter remains contingent: God could have made it otherwise, and at any moment He could decide to do so.

Evolution, being one of the central strands of scientism, is widely invoked to explain the development of all living things, including man, without reference to God. Chesterton knew that a gradual development is perfectly acceptable to orthodox Christians, but he also insisted on the paucity of the evidence for evolution. Scientifically it is indeed very plausible, but it is far from being established. Certainly it provides no grounds for the rejection of the central Christian beliefs concerning the uniqueness of man.

Darwinism provides no basis for ethics, or for the equality of man. Once man is seen as changeable by external forces, he becomes the object of manipulation by the strong and crafty. The only safeguard of the equality of man is provided by the recognition of the uniqueness of Christ as man. This is no abstract observation: Evolution in general and the survival of the fittest in particular have been identified as among the most potent causes of the First World War.

In recent years there has been much discussion of the development of science as occurring by a series of revolutionary changes, to the point where scientific objectivity is itself denied. Chesterton, long before, had already provided the essential comment on this discussion, because he knew that true revolutions always respect the element of continuity rooted in the underlying reality. Objective reality is the safeguard of sanity.

One of the most interesting questions that can be asked is why science developed in Christian Europe and not in any of the great civilizations of antiquity. A vital observation in this respect is that all civilizations except the Christian are infected with the idea of cosmic recurrence, the notion of events repeating themselves over and over again. This idea saps initiative, generates hopelessness, and effectively prevents the rise of science. Only the Judaeo-Christian religion sees history not as a series of endless cycles, but as a linear process with a beginning and an end. This view, together with the Christian beliefs about the rationality and contingency of matter, provides the necessary conditions for the rise of science. Chesterton recognized that the cosmic treadmills of recurrence were present before the rise of Christianity and are now reappearing in the period of its neglect. The final, conclusive argument against cosmic recurrence is provided by the unique and unrepeatable incarnation and resurrection of Christ.

Chesterton showed his philosophical acuteness in basing his thought on reality as perceived by the mind—contrary to modern philosophers since Descartes and Kant, who start with the mind and ultimately become trapped in positivism and solipsism. This acceptance of objective reality leads to the affirmation of the totality of all objects, namely the universe. Recent research has shown the universe to be highly specific, and this can only be understood as a consequence of the purposeful action of its Creator. Those unwilling to accept this interpretation try to avoid the implication of the specificity of the universe by describing how nothing can turn into something. Chesterton saw that this is absurd: "The world does not explain itself . . . it is absurd for the Evolutionist to complain that it is unthinkable for an admittedly unthinkable God to make everything out of nothing, and then pretend that it is *more* thinkable that nothing should turn itself into everything."

These few examples suffice to show the range of Chesterton's thinking and its bearing on many problems that are still of vital relevance today. Professor Jaki has performed a most valuable service in bringing together Chesterton's ideas and showing their importance. His book is not always easy to read. Like Chesterton's own books, it has depths that do not immediately yield their meaning, but the effort to comprehend is most rewarding. □

# PARTY ANIMAL

## Bob Mack

*Republican Party Reptile, by P. J. O'Rourke (Atlantic Monthly, 220 pp., $6.95)*

P. J. O'Rourke is a conservative for the future. As a former editor of *National Lampoon* and a frequent contributor to all the trendy glossies, he is a part of and yet apart from the East Coast Media Establishment. O'Rourke is funny, cool, hip, and sexy. He's everything Tom Shales says conservatives are not. And he is skillful enough to smuggle his cockamamie conservatism into any magazine he wants. (By the way, he's not a well-connected Harvard grad, but a Midwesterner who infiltrated the *Lampoon* hierarchy and went on from there.)

O'Rourke is infuriating, but also disarming. Who can suppress a snicker when confronted with the belligerent brand of social dissection that characterizes his new collection of 21 essays, *Republican Party Reptile*?

> We are the Republican Party Reptiles . . . I think our agenda is clear. We are opposed to: government spending, Ken-


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nedy kids, seatbelt laws . . . busing our kids anywhere other than Yale, trailer courts near our vacation homes, Gary Hart, all tiny Third World countries that don't have banking secrecy laws, aerobics, the UN, taxation without tax loopholes, and jewelry on men . . .

There are thousands of people in America who feel this way, especially after three or four drinks. If all of us could unite and work together, we could give this country . . . well, a real big hangover.

There's an element of danger in O'Rourke. For one thing, he flaunts a Dionysian disposition that is largely charming but still a potential turnoff to traditional conservatives—as well as an easy stick for envious liberals to thwack him with. The former publisher of *Lampoon* told *NR* that O'Rourke is a "flaming a------," while an ex-editor added, "The last time I saw P.J., I threw a drink in his face."

Left-wingers understandably see him as a pragmatic traitor who cashed in on the Reagan Revolution. But it's not as if O'Rourke can be sure of help from the Right. Many serious conservatives consider him a trendy lightweight, forgetting that he has reported from Beirut, Russia, Poland, El Salvador, and the Philippines (during Marcos's final days).

They also fail to notice that beneath a flippant surface and a frequently vulgar brand of humor, O'Rourke is remarkably concerned with mores and morals. For example, his earlier book, *Modern Manners*, was a farcical slap at what passes for etiquette in our bankrupt culture. But it was also a subtle declaration of disgust with today's self-righteous depravity. O'Rourke cleverly—and correctly—linked the disappearance of manners to the general decline of Western civilization.

In turn, the best essay in *Republican Party Reptile* is entitled "Ferrari Refutes the Decline of the West." And even in apparent bits of froth like "Horrible Protestant Hats," O'Rourke slips in an eyebrow-raising insight:

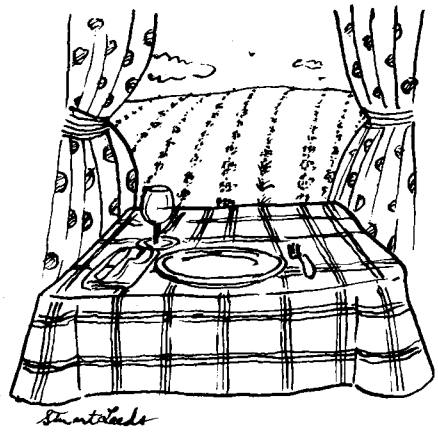
> Until the last years of the Eisenhower era, WASPs wore wonderful haberdashery . . . Then something happened . . . Maybe it's no accident that the rise of the silly hat coincides with the disappearance of a coherent American foreign policy, the decay of business ethics, the increase in functional illiteracy, and the general decline of the United States as a world power. The head is symbolic of reason, discipline, good sense, and self-mastery. Putting a fuzzy green Tyrolean hat decorated with a tuft of deer behind on top of it means trouble.

O'Rourke himself always wears a suit and tie, is often mistaken for a CIA agent while traveling, and has this advice for youngsters (from his "Alphabet for Schoolboys"):

> *N is for Nike. It's a missile, not a shoe.*
> *Get yourself an oxford in cordovan, not blue.*

Conservatism needs P. J. O'Rourke. His audacity brings to mind the image of a vintage Jude Wanniski showing up for his first day at the *Wall Street Journal* behind the wheel of a convertible, in a gold lamé suit, with a Las Vegas showgirl on his arm. Christopher Buckley says that P.J. equals S.J. (Perelman) on LSD. But I see him more as Hunter Thompson minus the idiocies, or as Tom Wolfe with his white suit soiled and shredded after a catfight with Ayn Rand. Whatever else he is, O'Rourke is a party animal whose "be square or beware" attitude could teach timid conservatives to take a bogus accusation and cram it back down the accuser's throat—with a whisky chaser.

When it comes to political philosophy, however, O'Rourke, like many Republicans, unfortunately thinks "neither conservatives nor humorists believe man is good. But left-wingers do." This view mistakenly sets up Hobbes as the paradigmatic conservative antidote to the liberal god, Rousseau. Liberals are allegedly optimistic because they believe people are "perfectible" and can someday be molded into a kind of egalitarian Gumby. Conservatives are thus supposed to be pessimistic because they realize men are inherently evil and unequal, and that capitalism isn't perfect—it's just the best we can hope for.



Thomas Sowell sets up the same false alternative of "unconstrained" liberal versus "constrained" conservative in his latest book, *A Conflict of Visions*. Other apologists, like George Gilder, have felt compelled to defend capitalism by the *ethical* standard of compassion rather than by the *political* standard of competition.

There is, however, no need to shoulder the type of guilt that led to Gilder's "capitalism *is* altruism" equivocation. This form of appeasement—even if O'Rourke himself is tempted to succumb to it—is rendered laughable by P. J. O'Rourke's very existence. □

# FICTION

## BATTLING TO THE FINISH

### Joe Mysak

*The Andropov Deception, by Brian Crozier (Beaufort, 243 pp., $15.95)*

BRIAN CROZIER, better known for his incisive work on European affairs and Soviet policy, turns to fiction in *The Andropov Deception*, producing a cinematic and timely spy novel. He is no le Carré, to be sure, but he does spin a fast-moving and often plausible tale. I say plausible, for the tendency when reading such books, if the author is any good, is to think, Well, why not? In fact, as the *Daily Mail* remarked (the novel was previously published in England, under the byline John Rossiter), it is compelling to speculate just how much of this fiction is based on fact. (Mr. Crozier writes, in a Special Note, that only the death of Yuri Andropov, in 1984, made it possible to release this account of "one of the most secret operations of the KGB," which Andropov headed from 1967 to 1982.)

The time is late 1981. Digby R. Stewart, former Hollywood actor, is in the White House, and Brenda Barclay is at 10 Downing Street. Things have taken a decided turn to the Right, and the ultra-secret intelligence agency S-9, a joint operation of NATO, has decided it is time to discredit and then eliminate Georg Henzen, a top



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West German politician. Henzen is a Social Democratic member of the Bundestag, a former political journalist, and the charismatic head of the "Peace" movement, which advocates the withdrawal of West Germany from NATO, the removal of American intermediate-range missiles, and the reunification of Germany under Soviet "tutelage." Henzen is also a fifth columnist, an "agent of influence" paid by Moscow to spew out the Soviet line while providing intelligence to the KGB.

The man for the job is Bruce Lock, of MI-6, British intelligence. He is a classic: handsome womanizer, trained killer, cad, and crack shot (a little too crack for my taste: He manages to shoot pistols out of his enemies' hands on at least two occasions, two too many for a man in the field), the sort of fellow who says to his girlfriend, "You realize, my little Scandinav, that I have a charmed life?" after a dynamite-laden Mercedes blows up his own Jaguar. He is multilingual, a clever fistfighter, and reputed to be a drinker.

Lock is a loner, although not without helpers, chief among them Gustav Frunze, head of the West German Federal Criminal Office and head of S-9 in West Germany. Frunze "hated Communists with a brooding intensity that never waned. He hated them because they had captured and killed his father. He hated them because they had raped his mother and sister. He hated them because they had wrested his Pomerania away from the descendants of the Teutonic knights. He hated Soviet Communists more than Polish ones, but perhaps he hated German Communists even more, for their disciplined servility to the Russians, and because the part of Pomerania that remained German was now part of the German Democratic Republic." Frunze is perhaps the best-drawn character in *The Andropov Deception*, although it is disconcerting to find him referred to as "the big Pomeranian."

Two good men, however, are not enough to deal with the inevitable complications attendant upon a joint operation of NATO members. The British get cold feet, but agree to a campaign aimed at discrediting and exposing Henzen. S-9 decides to leak some of its information to a sympathetic member of the Senate Oversight Committee through the head of the CIA, who is trying to reconstruct the agency in the wake of Watergate and the dismal Carter years. S-9 hopes the committee will order a broader investigation, but this is quashed by Senator Jack O'Malley of Massachusetts, "whose family was famous in American political history," and I don't believe Mr. Crozier had the Adamses in mind. The senator likes the idea of peace, and just does not "buy that whole concept" of Soviet agents of influence in West Germany.

This in turn shuts down the exposé being written by newspaper columnist John Willard, who seems in some ways an unholy and hilarious combination of Jack Anderson and Robert Novak. Henzen denies the charges and ridicules the attack, adding, "It is only in partnership with the East that we can hope to secure lasting peace and security."

Finally, West German intelligence—"riddled with double agents"—botches its own operation against one of Henzen's lieutenants, who is exposed by a defector as being in the employ of the Soviets. Only the kidnapping of a British national, a NATO secretary who is, incidentally, Bruce Lock's steady date, persuades the British to back the operation without reservation.

The kidnappers are Soviet-backed terrorists, an assortment of thugs including a former member of the Baader-Meinhof Gang, hired to find out why Lock and the West are so interested in Henzen, through the obligatory torture scene. Bruce Lock to the rescue! —and so the battle is joined.

As the author notes in an introductory section on the main characters and plot, "It is a battle to the finish," and along the way to the bloody conclusion, the reader is treated to a tour of terrorist training camps and ideological indoctrination centers, character sketches of various members of the KGB bureaucracy, and glimpses of Soviet recruiting by blackmail.

Mr. Crozier's experience in writing about the protracted conflict between East and West informs the plot and descriptions of *The Andropov Deception*, and prevents it from becoming another potboiler. But he is a crafty author, and not without a sense of humor; his enjoyment of this kind of fiction and its possibilities, and demands, is evident on each page. Freed from the constrictions of journalism, he has whipped up a spy-thriller jambalaya, tossing in heaping portions of sex, some self-consciously bad dialogue, a few Nazis, a nymphomaniac lawyer, and the requisite stunning dénouement.

The actor who played Remington Steele should play Bruce Lock in the movie. □

# DELECTATIONS

## ICEBREAKERS AND TASTEMAKERS

### Nika Hazelton

LONGTIME readers of NATIONAL REVIEW will recognize the contest announced on the next page as a repetition of our very first contest ever, announced in the December 2, 1969, number of the magazine. We are repeating it because, now more than ever, conversation starters have become a necessity in our constant meeting of strangers. Too many people have known the agony of sitting mutely next to an equally mute unknown person. Thus, ever sympathetic to unnecessary agonies, we devised this contest to break the ice. *En avant*, dear readers, and show your mettle!

RECENTLY, I went to a luncheon introducing the 1983 vintage of Opus One, the vastly overpriced but excellent red wine developed jointly by Robert Mondavi, of California's Napa Valley, and Baron Philippe de Rothschild, of Château Mouton in Bordeaux; it is made at the Mondavi winery by their respective winemakers.

Opus One was inaugurated with a lot of fanfare in 1981. We sampled the 1981 vintage last week, along with the 1982 and 1983 wines; they all showed a continuing style and rich flavor. They were introduced by Michael Mondavi, president of the winery and son of Robert Mondavi, and by Baroness Philippine de Rothschild, the loud-voiced, garrulous daughter of the wine's French father. A fortune must have been spent to hold the luncheon at Maxim's, a New York restaurant



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## *Calling All National Review Readers!*

## The New Delectations Contest!

## ENTER NOW!

**Contestants are invited to submit dinner-table conversation starters to use with uncommunicative partners. No money, no politics, no religion, but harmless remarks such as (I quote from previous contest winners): "Do you think if snow were a darker color, it would make the earth look smaller?"; "Is ground glass shiny after being cooked?"; "Longing is a great force, but possession emasculates. How do we resolve this?"; "Would you resent being called Kafkaesque?"; and "Have you ever thought about falling pyramids?"**

**Submit a minimum of two (2) conversation starters per entry. Three prizes will be awarded, as well as a booby prize. Entries will be judged by Bill Buckley, Priscilla Buckley, Linda Bridges, and Nika Hazelton. Entries must be postmarked by June 15. Please address entries to Nika Hazelton, *National Review*, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.**

all done in luxurious plastic, meant, I fear, to re-create the genuine aura of Maxim's restaurant in Paris, and failing to do so with a very loud bang.

Opus One is a luscious red wine, as it should be for a price of around fifty dollars a bottle. It is largely made of Cabernet grapes but does not taste like California Cabernets, which are usually very heavy; instead it recalls a first-growth Bordeaux. It comes in a handsome bottle with an elegant and interesting label—a masterly representation of the blending of two powerful egos, showing, in silhouette, a Janus face of Robert Mondavi and the Baron. It is a very good wine for people who want prestige and don't mind your knowing they can afford it. I imagine that Mr. Mondavi and Baron Philippe had something like this in mind when they created the wine.

FOR WINE WRITERS, wine tastings are worth while only when they feature wines one does not know, or is not likely to be able to buy oneself. In general, wine tastings, receptions, lunches, trips, and other freebies are not as free as the public might imagine—one of the problems being that the promoters, not unnaturally, expect writers who accept them to write in flattering terms.

In my case, I go only to events that pique my curiosity. Thus, last week, I betook myself to the monthly luncheon of the Wine Writers Circle, a professional organization to which I belong. I was curious to meet the pioneer vine-growers and winemakers of Long Island, next door to New York City, and about the last place on earth where you would expect good wines to be made.

Alex and Louisa Hargrave, a handsome couple, both of them extremely nice, with serious college degrees (literature and chemistry), were presenting several of their products. Besides being curious about Long Island wines, I wanted to meet the Hargraves, who started producing wine long before anybody else on Long Island. We sampled five wines—white, pinkish, and red—from a number of vintages. All were remarkably clear and brilliant, thanks to their having been made as naturally as possible, with barely a hint of fining to clear the wine. Suffice it to say that the Hargraves' Chardonnay, Cabernet, and Merlot taste very good, as does a pinkish Blanc de Noirs.

My favorites were the 1977 Chardonnay and the 1981 Merlot. None of the wines bore any resemblance whatsoever to California wines; they also had very little, if any, kinship with their European counterparts. The 1982 dry Johannisberg Riesling was a well-made wine, though not as luscious as I like that kind of wine to be. The upper-class tastes of the young couple are apparent from the labels on their bottles: full-color reproductions of the works of famous modern artists like Roy Lichtenstein and Elaine de Kooning. I would advise anybody who is interested in good wine to try the Hargraves' products. The wines cost around nine or ten dollars a bottle, with the exception of the Blanc de Noirs, which costs under six dollars.

MONSIEUR HENRI wines, a division of Pepsico, evidently is the sole importer of Rumanian wines, under the Premiat label. Among the four new vintages, two whites (Johannisberg Riesling and Chardonnay) and two reds (Merlot and Cabernet Sauvignon), I liked the Merlot best—but then I usually like Merlot wines. (From the days when we made our own wines in Tuscany, I remember that it is easier to make good red wines; *eheu fugaces!*) All the Premiat wines are excellent buys in everyday wines, costing only about three dollars a bottle. This incredibly low price is possible only because the wines are subsidized, either by Rumania or by Pepsico, or both. Nevertheless, you can't do any better for the money, since the two reds and the white Chardonnay, especially, are great for casual drinking. □

# THE GIMLET EYE

## THE CHEATING INDUSTRY

### D. Keith Mano

I CAUGHT THE following ad in *Sport* magazine:

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# THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

TIMOTHY ASHBY'S *The Bear in the Back Yard: Moscow's Caribbean Strategy* (Lexington Books/D. C. Heath & Co., 125 Spring Street, Lexington, Mass. 02173; $22.95) is a fine and important book. Its subject is the protracted global conflict between East and West, its theme the enterprising aggressiveness of the Soviet Union in confrontation with the slackness, inattention, and tergiversation of the United States. It is alarming, unpleasant, at times infuriating to read, but of course it is unreasonable to blame Timothy Ashby for this: He is but the bearer of truth in the form of bad news—as well as, ultimately, some words of encouragement.

While the Soviets' strategic interest in Latin America is certainly not a recent preoccupation, it was not until 1956, following the Twentieth CPSU Congress, that the Kremlin made it an important one. Even so, Russian strategists assumed that Washington was taking every precaution to safeguard its "strategic rear"; Fidel Castro's embracement of Moscow was a nutty surprise, which remained, however, more explicable than the United States' acquiescence in the development of a Communist state on the island that King Philip II of Spain had called "the key to the New World," and which, even before the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine, the U.S. had taken decisive action to protect. But as successive American Administrations appeared eager to overlook Soviet activities in Cuba, the Russians became increasingly encouraged. When, in 1979, President Carter tacitly concurred with a permanent Soviet military presence in Cuba, it seemed to bear out Leonid Brezhnev's 1974 statement, "Having assessed the overall correlation of forces in the world, we came to the conclusion . . . that there existed a real possibility of securing a radical turnabout in the international situation."

Thus, the belief that the West was in decline led the USSR to a reappraisal of its strategic policies in the Caribbean and the rest of Latin America. As Anatoly Gromyko, chief of the USSR's Africa Institute (and son of the Soviet president), defined the new strategy, its goal would be to "inflict significant damage to the U.S. power position not only in the region but in the world at large."

This strategy, Ashby claims, is designed to further five principal objectives: "1) Erosion of the United States' historical predominance in the region. 2) Expansion of Soviet influence and power. 3) Establishment and maintenance of Soviet proxies. 4) Proliferation of Soviet military and $C^3I$ [command, control, communications, and intelligence] facilities. 5) Forced withdrawal of U.S. influence from other parts of the world, . . . thereby leaving the 'principal theaters' of Europe and Asia vulnerable to Soviet aggression." A vital first step is the general destabilization of the area, which the Soviets hope to achieve by working upon what they term the "inherent contradictions" of American society; i.e., using disinformation and propaganda to mobilize popular opinion against the West's regional policy.

Case by case, country by country, Ashby describes how the Kremlin, by its use of opportunism, deception, subversion, the granting of military assistance while at the same time avoiding overt confrontation, the unification of hostile factions in "umbrella groups" dominated by Communist interests, and, above all, proxy—in Cuba, Mexico, Jamaica, Grenada, Surinam, Guyana, Colombia, and Nicaragua (to give a partial list)—has, to an alarming extent, achieved those objectives. Cuba, of course, that "unsinkable aircraft carrier" ninety miles from the American coast, has been its chief proxy, a mandate the Cubans have been covertly passing from hand to hand, like an Olympic torch, throughout Central and Latin America. The rescue of Grenada in 1983 was a major defeat for the Soviets; it also taught them that Ronald Reagan was no James Carter, and that, for the duration of his Presidency, flagrant or provocative acts in the Caribbean Basin would not be tolerated. Nevertheless, the Russians have another project, closer to their hearts than Grenada and perhaps even closer than Cuba. That project, of course, is Nicaragua: The Kremlin reposes tremendous hopes in it, once the Sandinistas have consolidated their revolution. After Nicaragua, El Salvador; after El Salvador, Honduras; then Costa Rica and Guatemala; finally, saving the best for last, Mexico. When Tomás Borge, the Nicaraguan Minister of the Interior, was asked, in 1983, about the accuracy of Reagan's predictions concerning the export of the Sandinistas' revolution, he replied, "That is one historical prophecy of Ronald Reagan's that is absolutely true!"

Ashby, having provided us with a relentless, chronicle of Soviet successes calculated almost to make one succumb to the notion of historical inevitability, concludes with an outline of a proposed counter-strategy that strikes this reader, at any rate, as both sensible and feasible. The "vital point of vulnerability" in the Soviets' Caribbean strategy is, he believes, "its dependence on regional proxies to project its power and influence." Without the existence of a "viable surrogate regime" in Cuba, that island would have won them little; just as, conversely, it was the internal disintegration of the New Jewel Movement in Grenada that foiled their plans for subversion. It follows therefrom that, "As Cuba is the key to Soviet strategy in the Caribbean, Nicaragua must be the key to a U.S. counter-strategy. . . . Dissolution of the FSLN [Sandinista] regime would provide the single greatest setback possible to Soviet ambitions in Central America and the Caribbean . . ."

Ashby believes that the Sandinista regime can be removed by force of arms, *if* the Nicaragua counter-revolutionaries are provided with military and economic assistance by the United States. That assistance, in turn, is only possible if the Congress can agree unequivocally on a bipartisan policy for the rescue of democracy in Nicaragua. The alternative, he argues, is far more inevitable than Marxism-Leninism: Sooner or later, the United States will be forced to send American troops to fight in Central America. □



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for itself from the programmatic corruption of schoolchildren. And no one seems to mind.

The catalogue, sent from California, was impressive. For $6.50 per page—footnotes and bibliographic material "absolutely free!"—you can have an eight-page paper about *Lord Jim* or one twice as long on that famous Greek playwright, Diabetes Mellitus. Should your instructor prefer some topic not listed, Crib Corp. will produce original counterfeits to spec. Creativity is expensive, of course: $12 per page, $4 extra for "more sophisticated" papers. (Six-page minimum.) Crib Corp. has a staff of more than fifty expert ghosts, and they've all been "through the mill." As in diploma mill: which synopsizes the cynical attitude prevalent at Crib Corp. College education is something to be gotten around. On that premise Crib Corp. will "ship all research papers in unmarked envelopes to ensure confidentiality."

Along with the catalogue I got a guileful and seductive covering letter. It covered guilt among other things: it dealt heavily in preventive exoneration, so to speak. Now hear this: ". . . many students, though well versed in the content of their courses, end up getting lower grades than they are entitled to." *Entitled.* When I read that my gall bladder went into contractions. No one, by the Crib Corp. standard, should ever be required to *write.* Writing is a useless and obsolete exercise. Moreover, by inference, it can no longer be learned. And yet (in capital letters as one would announce THIN ICE), "EITHER WRITE A GOOD TERM PAPER, OR SUFFER ACCORDINGLY WHEN GRADES ARE MAILED OUT." One can imagine how minority students, in particular, might respond to both the threat and all that cunning suasion. Yeah. Sure. It's unfair. Syntax, spelling, cogent declarative thought are all prejudicial and, worse, too hard for us.

Don't blame your high school either. Only Jesus (and maybe William Kunstler) can grant remission of sin with more effect than the scholastic pardoners at Crib Corp. Blame, oh, population. "With growing numbers of students [I thought school attendance was in decline], today's high-school teachers rely more and more on tests that can be graded quickly. . . . So, while many students are well prepared to meet the challenges of multiple-choice exams, they are inadequately prepared when it comes to writing quality term papers." There is just enough plausible truth in this. You are a victim of numbers. Accept our catalogue as a license to redress that social wrong.

I rang the order desk at Crib Corp. For that occasion I was a grammarless Dartmouth student who had Prof. Jeff Hart in English Lit. The hack expressed sympathy. As you read this transcript, invest all Crib Corp. dialogue with a drone of exasperating smugness.

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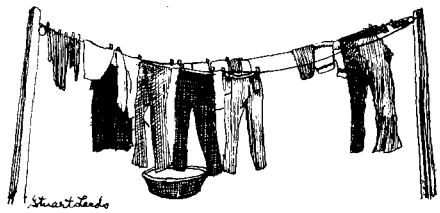
CRIB: It ranges from fair to excellent. Longer papers tend to be more sophisticated. If the paper is for MLA or something, we try to write accordingly. But the general level is undergrad.

ME: Suppose you use a different typewriter from mine?

CRIB: The paper we send will be Xeroxed.

ME: I have to retype it?

CRIB: Well, you should do something. Anyhow, that way you can add words of your own to make it sound



authentic. Feel free to call us if there's anything in the paper you don't understand.

ME: Uh, are the professors familiar with your service? I mean, do they ever check papers out?

CRIB: Nope. Nobody ever bothers about that. We've been in business 16 years and we've never had any trouble. Don't worry, we keep records of the colleges we send each paper to. So there's never a duplication.

The pawky, self-congratulating nerve of that yo-yo. I wanted to take a fungo bat and leave him for street pizza somewhere. The implications are depressing. Sure, if I sent away for a paper on *Beowulf* and palmed it off as my own, America wouldn't go into moral occlusion. But what about the pre-med who got his shingle in part by lifting that twenty-page paper on "Brain Hemispheric Function" or "Recombinant DNA"? Would you trust this man to take your pulse and then return it? Or, even more delicious in prospect, how about that young seminarian who pulled an A by poaching Crib Corp. paper #13904, "The Ethical Life: Difficulties and possibilities of living a moral lifestyle in an unethical society." With emphasis on the possibilities. It isn't hard to suppose that some people go through college without writing a single paper of their own. No wonder the BA degree has less clout than fox scat today.

But Crib Corp. isn't a hole-and-corner enterprise. Crib Corp. is an *institution*: "NUMBER ONE IN THE UNITED STATES." From that proud estimate one can adduce numbers two, three, four: a go-go market in intellectual larceny. And you suspect that Crib Corp. et al. could never survive without tacit support from the academic establishment. Otherwise there would be at least one Crib Corp. catalogue for reference in every college department. Expel enough plagiarists and the trot racket would capsize. But expulsion has become unpopular: bad for school morale now when each undergraduate carcass is worth bounty money from the government. Moreover,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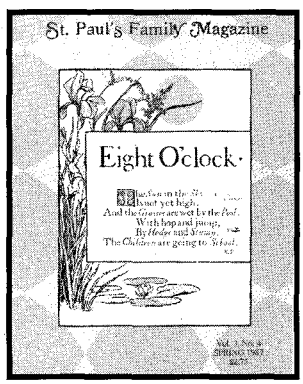


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without Crib Corp., a college might have to teach *writing*. And that would be unpleasantly like education. □

## BOOKS IN BRIEF

*American Catholics since the Council: An Unauthorized Report, by Andrew Greeley (Thomas More, 237 pp., $14.95)*

FATHER GREELEY is a superb sociologist, no matter what one thinks of his racy novels. Over the years he has done the finest (and almost the only) research on the positive effects of both Catholic schools and celibacy. He is at great pains in this book to underscore that his role is merely that of a reporter of trends and opinions and in no way a lobbyist for them. The principal findings of Greeley's research are: First, "American Catholics have surged ahead of their white Protestant counterparts" on nearly every index: educational, occupational, economic. Second, between 1969 and 1975, a precipitous decline in Mass attendance occurred, from 67 per cent of adult Catholics down to 50 per cent, although that figure has been inching upward in the past few years. Third, "almost four-fifths of the weekly church attenders (and at least as large a portion of the weekly Communion receivers) do not accept the Church's official sexual teaching." Finally, "loyalty" (defined as adherence "to the Catholic heritage and tradition rooted in richer and warmer experiences, images, and stories of God") keeps these people in the Church, despite their disagreement with official positions. Greeley notes that the lower clergy changed their minds on artificial contraception before the laity. This makes his conclusion on the matter all the more puzzling: "I can think of no response from the institutional leadership of the Church which is likely to change either the lay people's attitude on birth control, or to modify the more gracious and benign image of God which they acquired." If the clergy helped the laity change their behavior before, why not now? While he expresses amazement at the laity's about-face on a host of sexual matters, Greeley offers what he terms "four modest suggestions": 1) Establish an "institution of upward communication" to "listen more closely and more sensitively" to the experience of the laity. Properly understood, this is no more than what Pope John Paul II has called for on many occasions. 2) Develop a "positive, constructive approach to human sexuality." Greeley sees John Paul II as having already begun that process but observes that many who could continue it "adamantly and stubbornly refuse" to do so. (Does Greeley see himself among their number?) 3) Take more seriously "those works which have impact primarily on the (religious) imagination—art, music, literature, sculpture, architecture." 4) Improve Sunday preaching: "The bishops and clergy are now greatly exercised about the rights of the poor, but singularly disinterested in the right of the laity to have the Gospel effectively preached to them."

PETER STRAVINSKAS


# A Conservative Becomes a Catholic . . .

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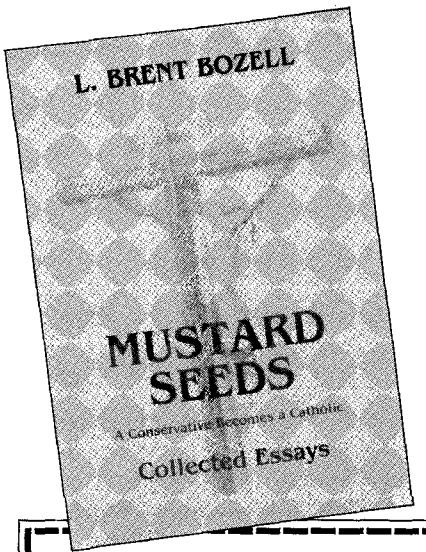


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# ON THE RIGHT / WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

## PROTOCOL AND PEACE

*NEW YORK, MAY 4*

JAMES RESTON of the *New York Times* makes a bizarre but interesting point, worth pondering if only because he made it. Reston is to political fashion what Bill Blass is to dress fashion. Expect, in the days ahead, to see flared nostrils when the subject comes up of Nixon/Kissinger and their column raising questions about Reagan/Shultz's proposed INF treaty.

Here is the sequence. Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger conferred, after Secretary Shultz returned from Moscow and broadcast the tentative terms of the understanding reached. They were alarmed by what they read. Since Mr. Kissinger writes a regular monthly column, they decided to issue a joint column, expressing their common concern.

James Reston begins his column by expressing his disagreement with Nixon/Kissinger's conclusion, which is not the point at hand.

"Another point has to do not only with judgments but manners. If your [Reston's column is in the form of an open letter to N/K] proposals had been made to the President and the Secretary of State in private—an option always open to you—nobody could object, but to make them in public at a critical point in the talks is at least an act of discourtesy.

"One has to wonder what you two would have thought when you were sitting in the Oval Office together if former President Lyndon Johnson had launched a public attack like this on your policies and suggested that you were helping the Russians and hurting your own country."

Now this would appear to be saying that retired Presidents and Secretaries of State ought not to make public their views on foreign policy if such views differ from those of their successors. Such counsel is not a part of the American tradition, and ought not to be welcomed as an inchoate part of the American tradition. On the contrary, a more active role for former Presidents is now and again suggested, and it has even been proposed that a constitutional amendment provide all ex-Presidents with a seat in the Senate, in order to permit them to communicate more readily their insights. President John Quincy Adams, we should remind ourselves, ran for a seat in the House of Representatives, where he gave distinguished service for 17 years after leaving the White House.

Henry Kissinger writes books, gives speeches, gives interviews, and writes a column: in all of which he makes his views known. He has written several columns, since the Summit conference at Reykjavik, in which he expressed his misgivings about the direction in which we are heading. Richard Nixon has written a half-dozen books since leaving office; he has traveled widely and, like Kissinger, has conferred widely with foreign leaders.

It is not yet clear whether we are faced, in respect of INF, with an executive agreement, or with a treaty. If it is to be a treaty, we accept the inevitable debate. If it is to be an executive agreement, then it will not be binding, under constitutional practice, on Mr. Reagan's successor.

Now, Nixon/Kissinger have a special responsibility in this debate since it was they who concluded the very first disarmament treaty with the Soviet Union. SALT I, whatever might have been said in its favor from the perspective of 1972, ended up, together with its corollary, the ABM Treaty, a colossal failure. I.e., it did not result in a diminution of strategic weapons, or in a strengthening of the Western position. Such seasoned hands as N/K are much needed to give the country the benefit of their perspective, and to suggest that they should confine their counsel to private sessions with the President and the Secretary of State is to reveal a quite astonishing innocence of how major figures deal with one another. If Mr. Nixon's counsel or Mr. Kissinger's had been wanted by Reagan/Shultz, it would have been solicited. In the absence of such solicitation, a former President or Secretary of State needs to ask himself whether grave reservations about a pending agreement should remain bottled up in his mind, or whether they should be introduced into the analytical and forensic bloodstream.

It is really quite silly to say, How would you have liked it if Lyndon Johnson had criticized your policies? The answer is they would not have liked it at all, for the simple reason that nobody, especially superstars, likes criticism, least of all from superstars out of office. But the imperatives here aren't to guard Reagan/Shultz from criticism, but to consider the points that prompted Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kissinger to adopt this unusual, and welcome, course. Happily, Mr. Reston devotes much of his column to describing their reservations. □

## CBS NEWS WITH DAN RATHER

*NEW YORK, MAY 8*

THE QUESTION is often asked: Are the media biased? The question is answered with this or that equivocation.

Well, here is an observation about *CBS News with Dan Rather* for April 29, 1987. The first two segments might as well have been broadcast by Radio Moscow.

The first segment had to do with the arraignment of Carl R. Channell for using a tax-exempt foundation to collect money to help the Contras. The viewer heard, in the course of a minute or two, such words as: "Contra fund-raiser Channell . . . guilty . . . defrauding the government . . . co-conspirator . . . Oliver North . . . non-humanitarian aid . . . at least $2 million . . . illegal contributions . . . faces five years in prison and $250,000 in fines . . . How much did President Reagan know about all this secret, private fund-raising? . . . The chairman of the Senate committee investigating the arms fiasco, Daniel Inouye, [said] the evidence indicates that Mr. Reagan knew a lot."

There was no editorial voice there to say: The Congress voted arms aid to the Contras both before and after the activity of Channell. What laws he violated in concealing the purposes of the committee for which he raised funds were technical. No one who volunteered funds to Channell's organization was cited as objecting to the uses to which they were put.

The second segment dealt with the death in Nicaragua of American engineer Benjamin Ernest Linder. Dan Rather introduces him matter-of-factly as "working to help the Sandinistas and to oppose U.S. policy." He said there are two versions as to why Linder died. The first, that he was killed in an "unprovoked attack by the Contras." The second, that he was caught in a firefight.



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The commentary for the duration of the segment would not have been different if Linder had been murdered by the North Vietnamese while trying to help the boat people. It is official U.S. policy, backed by both Houses of Congress, that the United States should assist the Contras, who are seeking to restore freedom to Nicaragua, a country in which the national income has been reduced by about 40 per cent of what it once was, in which the military draft conscripts more young men per capita than in any other country in Latin America, in which civil rights have been officially suspended, in which the Miskito Indians were victims of genocidal persecutions, in which the only surviving opposition newspaper has been closed down, in which military technicians from Cuba and from Eastern Europe are helping to develop a police state and a Soviet satellite.

What CBS gave the viewers:

"In an interview in 1983, Linder said most Nicaraguans were afraid of the Contras." And then a flashback to Linder himself: "When you talk to any of the Nicaraguan people it's clear that their fear is not the Soviet Union, their fear is not Communism, their fear is the constant attacks on the people of Nicaragua being supported by the U.S. Government."

CBS: "The Reagan Administration has labeled the Nicaraguan government a threat to U.S. security, but there are some 1,500 Americans who live in Nicaragua and most of them, like Ben Linder, sympathize with the government." Yes, and most of the three hundred Americans who live and work in Libya are sympathetic with the government of Qaddafi.

CBS: "Some of those Americans lost no time in demonstrating outside the U.S. Embassy. They blamed the Reagan Administration not only for Linder's death, but also for the deaths of tens of thousands of Nicaraguans. Today they vowed that Linder's death would only make them work harder for the Nicaraguan revolution."

RATHER: "With Benjamin Linder's death, critics of Contra aid raised a new question today. Why is American money going to rebels apparently responsible for murdering an American?" Presumably the answer to that question is that an American was located on the trajectory between a Contra revolutionary and his target. If an Italian had been on the flight path of a bullet fired by George Washington at General Burgoyne, he'd have been a dead Italian.

CBS: "Last year, he [Linder] was party to a lawsuit filed to cut off aid to the Contras, arguing 'the danger to my physical safety is immediate.'" Congress and the President do not make foreign policy on the basis of the physical safety of any individual American.

CBS: "Here in Linder's home town of Portland, family and friends express their anguish and their outrage."

MAN: "He was known as somebody who wouldn't hurt a fly . . ."

BROTHER: "The United States Government killed my brother."

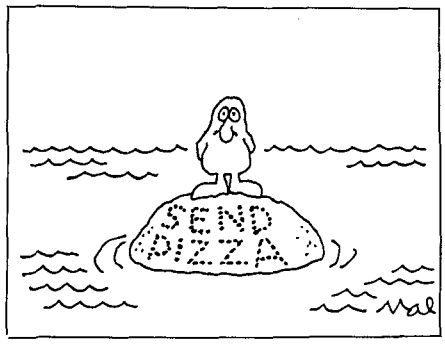
This is Dan Rather, for CBS News. Good night. □

# HART'S PROBLEM & OURS

*NEW YORK, MAY 6*

THERE ARE several questions that silt up in the wake of Tailgate, as they are now calling it. The first is the question of the *Miami Herald*: Did it, or did it not, exceed the bounds of legitimate investigative curiosity when it set up its cameras outside Senator Hart's townhouse? Here is one view of the *Herald*'s deportment: "When I read about the *Miami Herald* story on Gary Hart, I felt degraded in my profession"—the view of Anthony Lewis, of the *New York Times*. Now, everyone of course knows that Mr. Hart specifically challenged the press to bird-dog his activity ("They would be very bored"). But this defense of the *Herald*'s activity is not even adduced by someone pleading a different view of the affair: "The *Herald* acted on the basis of information from a confidential source that turned out to be substantially accurate. It did so in a larger context . . . that, not philandering, is the issue . . . This issue [Hart's character], reflecting centrally on the candidate's judgment and integrity, is one that many, perhaps most, journalists would have pursued. Sordid fishing expeditions for scandal are one thing; this story concerns the public interest." That is the view of the *New York Times*, from which we infer that Mr. Lewis is degraded by his association with the *Times*.

The second question is factual. Did Mr. Hart and Miss Rice, as the British so demurely put it, have at it? "If I'm on a jury I vote guilty on circumstantial evidence," writes columnist Sandy Grady of the *New York Daily News*. And we remind ourselves that it is by circumstantial evidence that most felons are convicted. On the other hand, Mr. Hart says flatly: I did not do it.




Question: Why doesn't someone propose a truth test? We could use a lie detector, and perhaps truth serum. Gary Hart, lying down in one amphitheater (His), Donna Rice in an adjacent amphitheater (Hers), surrounded by our Free Press, interpreting the zigs and zags on the polygraph chart, and the verbal emanations from the truth drug. For some reason, the candidate has not suggested a truth test, nor has the *Miami Herald*. But that would be one way to go.

The third matter has to do with our old friend, Morality. Let's face it, the American people are pretty permissive about the random sexual adventure, but the question before the house is whether special standards ought to be met by people who want to be President. Here is what it amounts to. Whatever Mr. Hart says about how the cause is bigger than both of us, the fact remains that he wants to be President mostly because he wants to be President. About the time I was born, Walter Lippmann was writing about Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt of New York that he, Lippmann, knew very little about him other than that he was a man without conspicuous qualifications who very much wanted to be President. The American people think of the Presidency as a lot of things, but primarily as the biggest brass ring in the free world. And if, courtesy of the people, a man is going to get all those private airplanes, helicopters, and Horowitz playing for you at dinner, then he has to requite those favors in ways that don't have all that much to do with the minimum wage or the value of the Japanese yen. The President's conduct must be, to use a word I discovered in a nineteenth-century grammar the other day, "exemplary." This is what the fuss is about.

AND, FINALLY, there is the matter of fairness. Has Gary Hart been abused?

In the boxing ring he lives in, I would say: No, not really. I have in mind, just for instance, the kind of thing he said about Ronald Reagan in his speech to the Democratic convention in San Francisco. For instance, "What has Reagan done to the environment? He and his gang of greedy polluters can no longer piously sing 'America the Beautiful' while they scar her face, poison her air, and corrupt her waters." And then he also said of Reagan that he was indifferent to the plight of elderly people, "who tremble in the basements of their homes." And speaking of hypocrisy, he said that Reagan cuts energy for the poor, breakfast programs for children, lunch programs for children, job training for children, "and then says, when at the table, 'Let us pray.'" You know something, I think I'd rather be accused of adultery than of all that. □

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# TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

## DEFINITIONS

A. One kind of mortgage — 128 42 141 176 100 78 18

B. Severe toil—especially at sea! — 160 107 90 118 27 9 64 140

C. Result of contrition — 132 29 177 15 155 87 73 112 59 46

D. Conservative military command? (2 words) — 63 83 113 138 28 95 171 144 3

E. City in southwest Maine — 47 174 82 68 127 8 97 147

F. Praise the dead — 10 51 123 135 70 151 80 24

G. Seasonal visitor (2 words) — 153 124 91 175 13 136 105 31 50

H. Shell fragments — 166 120 110 12 66 54 81 162

I. Descriptive of certain maternal connections — 98 173 76 6 60 126 44 161 20

J. Sideburn style of fashionable sheep (hyph.) — 25 146 119 88 109 168 96 2 48 65

K. This Roman sea god needed plenty of space — 99 167 131 56 26 16 154

L. Turkish title of respect — 170 122 108 79 69 34 139

M. Kind of good time had by Porky? — 172 103 52 137 36 86 149 1 164 142 22

N. "Veteran" track meet "official"? — 53 115 169 84 71 130 30 101

O. Connecticut seaport on the Thames — 133 75 157 33 94 11 61 145 117

P. He won by a "hair" — 165 129 77 148 49 14 62 111

Q. Impediment to a fast flight — 85 5 21 92 41 158 106 37

R. Anti-knock fluid — 39 159 23 102 67

S. What some congressmen did on their expedition — 156 134 7 74 121 40

T. Last name in tea — 163 55 89 152 32 72

U. Golfer's "previously spoken" warning cry — 116 104 43 4 93 57 17 35 143

V. City in Cherokee County, S.C. — 125 45 19 58 114 38 150

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 M | 2 J | 3 D | 4 U | 5 Q | | 6 I | 7 S | | 8 E | 9 B | 10 F | | 11 O | 12 H | 13 G | 14 P | 15 C | 16 K | 17 U |
| 18 A | | 19 V | 20 I | 21 Q | 22 M | | 23 R | 24 F | | 25 J | 26 K | 27 B | 28 D | | 29 C | 30 N | | 31 G | 32 T |
| 33 O | 34 L | | 35 U | 36 M | 37 Q | 38 V | 39 R | 40 S | | 41 Q | 42 A | 43 U | | 44 I | 45 V | 46 C | | 47 E | 48 J |
| 49 P | 50 G | | 51 F | 52 M | 53 N | 54 H | | 55 T | 56 K | 57 U | | 58 V | 59 C | 60 I | 61 O | 62 P | | 63 D | 64 B |
| 65 J | 66 H | 67 R | 68 E | 69 L | 70 F | | 71 N | 72 T | | 73 C | 74 S | 75 O | | 76 I | 77 P | 78 A | 79 L | 80 F | 81 H |
| | 82 E | 83 D | 84 N | 85 Q | 86 M | 87 C | 88 J | | 89 T | 90 B | 91 G | 92 Q | 93 U | | 94 O | 95 D | | 96 J | 97 E |
| 98 I | 99 K | 100A | 101N | 102R | | 103M | 104U | | 105G | 106Q | | 107B | | 108L | 109J | 110H | 111P | 112C | 113D |
| 114V | | 115N | 116U | 117O | 118B | | 119J | 120H | 121S | | 122L | 123F | 124G | 125V | | 126I | 127E | | 128A |
| 129P | 130N | 131K | 132C | 133O | 134S | 135F | 136G | 137M | 138D | 139L | 140B | | 141A | 142M | 143U | | 144D | 145O | 146J |
| 147E | 148P | 149M | 150V | | 151F | 152T | 153G | 154K | 155C | 156S | | 157O | 158Q | 159R | 160B | | 161I | 162H | 163T |
| | 164M | 165P | 166H | | 167K | 168J | 169N | 170L | 171D | 172M | 173I | 174E | 175G | 176A | 177C | | | | |

## DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 56 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**



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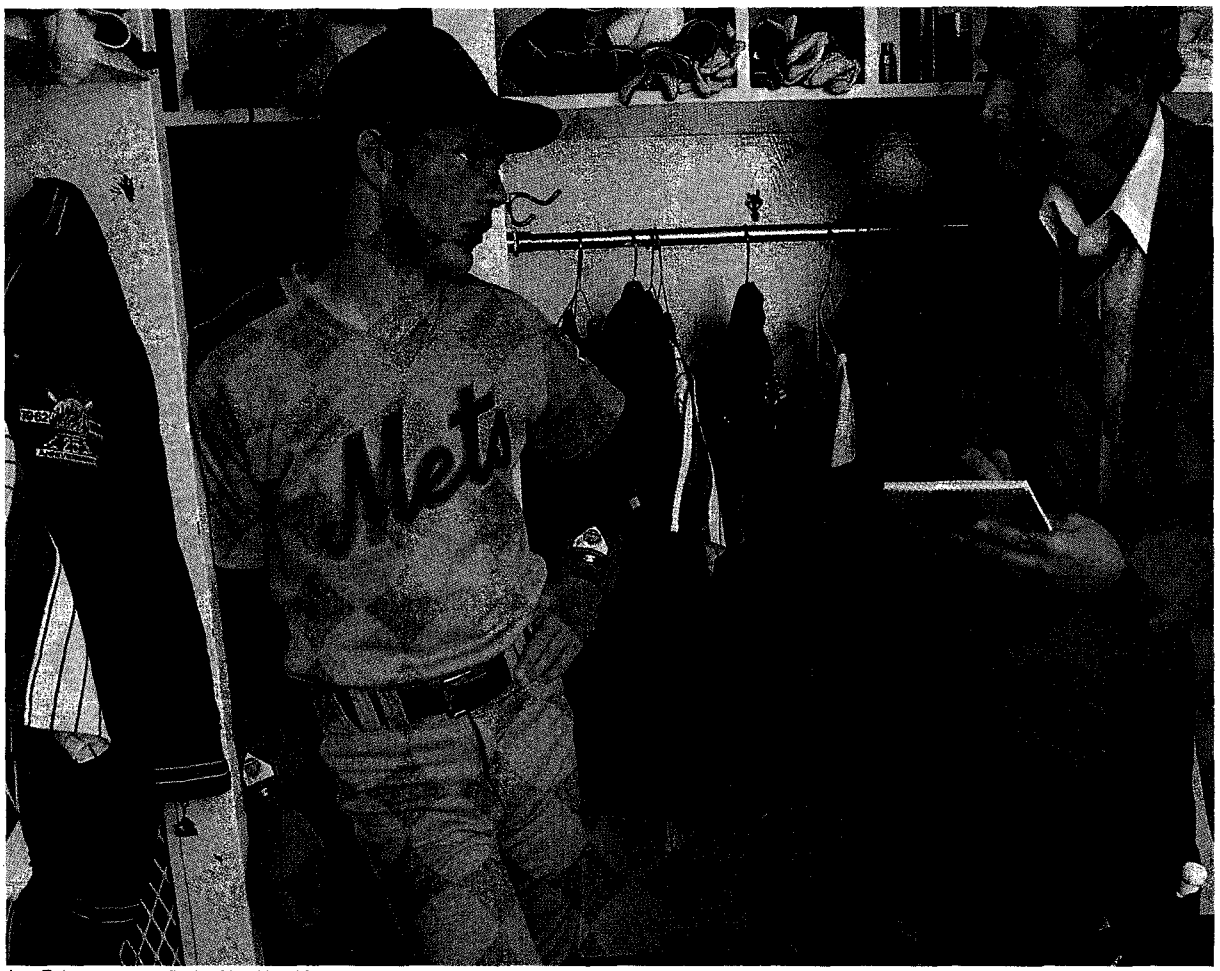
THE ART OF SUPERIOR PERFORMANCE




Len Dykstra, center fielder, New York Mets

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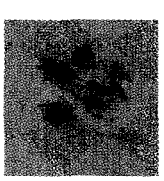
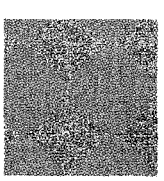


Visa fabric before washing
Shows grass and dirt stains



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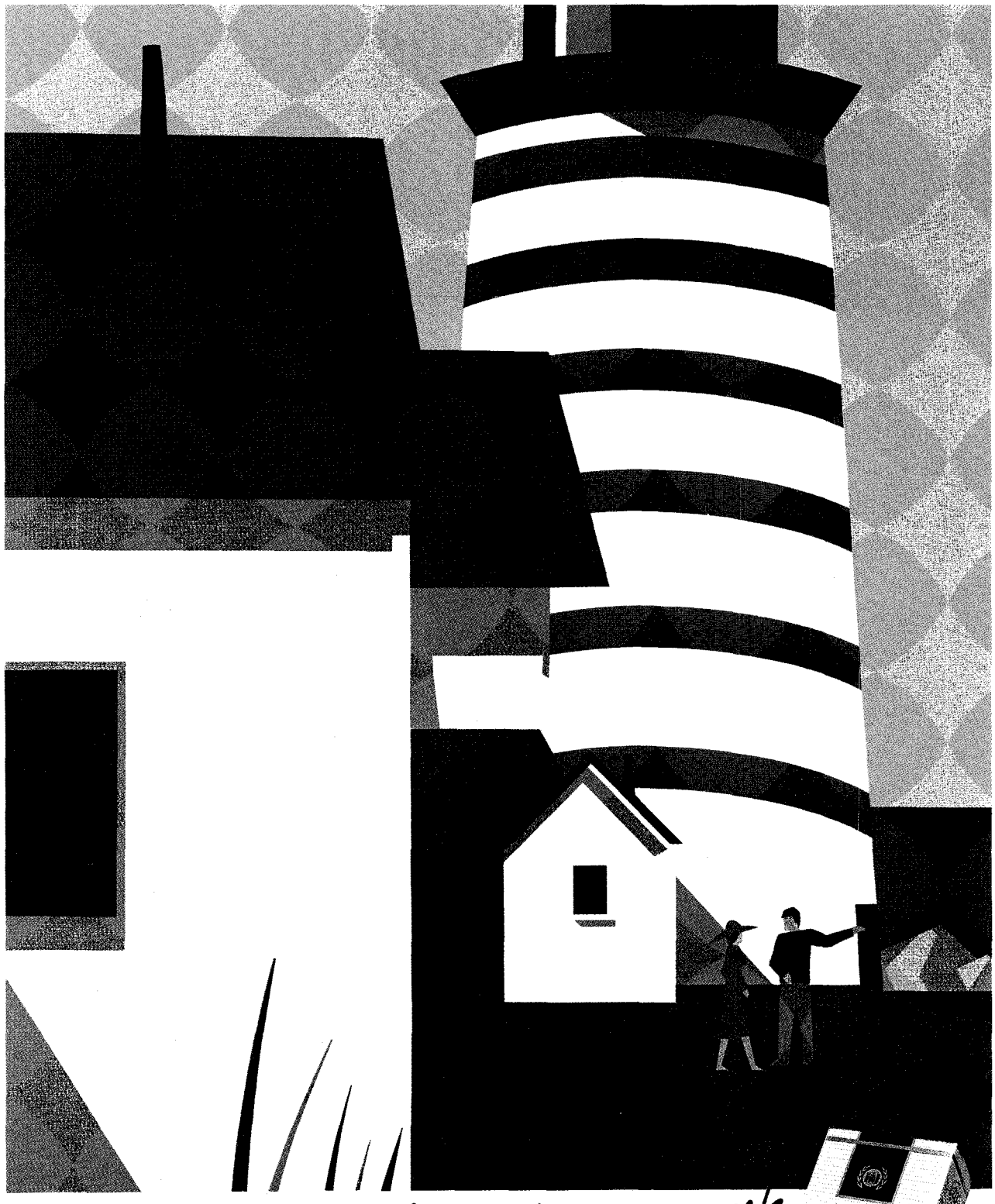


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